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IDF: Terrorists in Yitzhar murders captured

By MARGOT DUDKEVITCH

Three Hamas terrorists responsible for the murders of Od Yosef and Yeshiva students Shlomo Liebman and Harel Bin-Nun, who were gunned down as they were patrolling the security fence at Yitzhar on August 4, were recently captured by the IDF and General Security Service, the IDF Spokesman announced yesterday.

The three were identified as Imad Rihan, 30, married and the father of three, Nazar Ramadan, 23, and Huld Ramadan, 20, all from the village Tel near Nablus. Meanwhile, security forces remain on high alert, anticipating that Hamas will try to carry out attacks in response to the signing of the Wye Memorandum.

According to the IDF Spokesman, Rihan admitted he was the cell commander and received orders to carry out attacks from Awadallah, who with his brother was killed by the IDF last month.

Prior to the attack, the cell studied the movement of Yitzhar's security vehicle. Following the attack, the three notified Awadallah and later placed two bombs in the Nablus area. On September 11, they planted a roadside bomb near Kadumim. Several days prior to their capture the three also planted a bomb near an IDF base at Mt. Eval.

The three confessed during questioning and informed security forces of the location of the second device, and IDF sappers detonated it.

Less than a week after the attack at Yitzhar, Palestinians claimed security forces arrested two Palestinians from nearby Madama. The sources said the two were Th'abit Nassar, 22, a student at An-Najah University in Nablus, and Ahmed Kamal, 28. According to the sources, Kamal was later released.

See YITZHAR, Page 18

PM confident he can sell Wye



A policeman restrains a demonstrator yesterday at the entrance to Jerusalem, where some 100 protesters gathered to boo Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's return from the US and the signing of the Wye Memorandum. Story, Page 2.

By DANNA HARMAN, HILLEL KUTTLER, STEVE RODAN, and MOHAMMED NAJIB

Returning home yesterday after a nine-day summit that yielded the Wye Memorandum, Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu launched immediately into campaign mode and expressed confidence that he could sell the agreement to his right-wing critics.

IDF prepares for redeployment, Page 2
Settlers say PM no longer their leader, Page 2

"We blocked many of the holes in the 'Swiss cheese' of Oslo," he said at an airport press conference. "We had to give up some of our land. This hurts and this is difficult for each and every one of us... and therefore I have to tell you - and I am not exaggerating - we fought with all our strength, we fought like lions, to reduce [this loss] as much as possible."

Netanyahu earlier told NBC's *Meet the Press* he expects his government to survive the process of ratifying the accord.

"The government may or may not fall. I don't think it will. I think cooler heads will prevail," he said.

He also did not rule out a Palestinian state emerging from the final-status negotiations, saying only that there will have to be "a limitation on certain sovereign

powers." But he added that Jerusalem would "never, ever" be redivided.

"What is at stake now is the remaining territory which is so vital for Israel's defenses. We have to strike a bargain, a deal, that ensures the Palestinians' desire to run their own lives, but ensures Israel's desire to protect its own life. I don't believe a fully fledged sovereign entity... is the prescription for peace," Netanyahu said.

Palestinian Authority Planning Minister Nabil Shaath, meanwhile, said that President Bill Clinton will visit early next month and that US envoy Dennis Ross will arrive later this week and stay at least three weeks to ensure implementation of the Wye Memorandum.

Israeli officials said they have no knowledge of Ross's travel plans.

Shaath said he expects implementation to be swift and that, in another two weeks, the PA will open its international airport in Dahaniya in the Gaza Strip. He said bus service will bring travelers to and from the airport unimpeded by the IDF.

Shaath, speaking over the Voice of Palestine, said the IDF will have a minimal presence around the airport, far less than the army's deployment at the Allenby Bridge. He said Israeli soldiers will not be allowed in the airport terminal.

With Foreign Minister Ariel Sharon and Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai by his side at the news conference, Netanyahu went through the details of the agreement.

See WYE, Page 21

NRP holds coalition key

By SARAH HONIG

The fate of Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's government may well be decided next week at the National Religious Party's central committee meeting, where the members will be asked to authorize the nine NRP MKs to vote for the pending early elections bill.

PM faces first Wye challenge, Page 2

Netanyahu and Foreign Minister Ariel Sharon already have asked to appear before the central committee in a last ditch

effort to dissuade the NRP from bringing the government down over the Wye agreement.

Labor Party chairman Ehud Barak has been in close touch with NRP leaders, and both sides have agreed to press forth at top speed with the early elections bill.

The NRP's Knesset faction conferred for more than three hours yesterday. It was a stormy session and the shouts could be heard in the corridors. Only two MKs - the faction's relative doves, Eli Gabai and Shmaryahu Ben-Tzur - voiced opposition to ending Netanyahu's term. In the end, the faction decided in favor of early elections.

See NRP, Page 16

Student clashes intensify

By ARYEH DEAN COHEN

Hundreds of students blocked roads and clashed with police at the nation's campuses yesterday, as a student strike aimed at cutting tuition in half kept some 175,000 university and college students from classes.

Israel Radio reported that during a demonstration at Tel Aviv University, a car tried to run down a policeman, but this was not confirmed elsewhere.

From Woodstock to war zone, Page 4

When Tel Aviv students poured out of the Ramat Aviv campus onto adjoining Rehov Einstein after a rally, police declared the demonstration illegal and mounted policemen wielding batons tried to push back the demonstrators.

Sixteen students were arrested at IAU, and two were taken to Sheba Hospital at Tel Hashomer for treatment, student sources said.

All 10 students arrested in Jerusalem were later released, a student source said, with charges filed against four of them, including one female student charged with assaulting a policeman.

Ten students were arrested dur-

ing protests near Haifa University, where a main road was blocked with burning tires. All those arrested were later released or placed under house arrest, Israel Radio reported.

Student leaders said undercover police and special police forces burst through the windows and doors of the national strike headquarters, disconnected loudspeakers being used for a demonstration, and made arrests, charging those detained with incitement.

As a result, student leaders said the struggle would now be not only over the tuition issue, but also over freedom of expression.

"We will not let this policy of silencing voices continue," National Union of Israeli Students spokesman Ronen Herszkowitz said.

At least one student leader expressed disappointment with the turnout, which he put at 1,000 in Tel Aviv and 500 each in Jerusalem, Beersheba, and Haifa.

The students plan to continue their demonstrations today despite "suffering some heavy losses" yesterday, he said, adding that a licensed demonstration is planned opposite the Treasury tomorrow.

Tel Aviv police chief Cmdr. Shlomo Aharonishky insisted the students had "escalated" the level of violence at the TAU demonstration.

However, Knesset Interior Committee chairman Micha Goldman called an urgent meeting of the committee for this morning to discuss the police actions.

See STUDENT, Page 18

PM flown to J'lem to avoid protesters

By ARYEH O'SULLIVAN

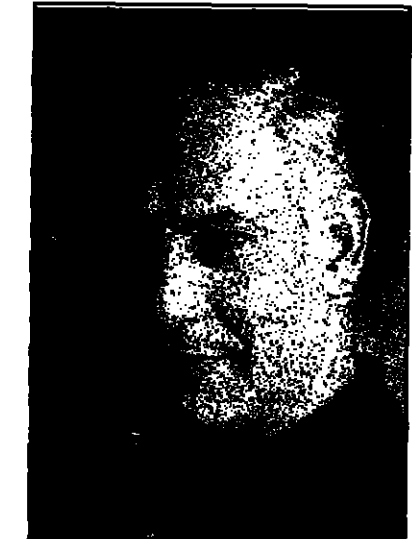
The General Security Service has reportedly beefed up the guard around Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, Foreign Minister Ariel Sharon, Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai, and Industry and Trade Minister Natan Sharansky amid heightened fears that Jewish extremists may target them for agreeing to hand over parts of Judea and Samaria to the Palestinians.

Those responsible for guarding Netanyahu decided he would be flown from Ben-Gurion Airport to Jerusalem by helicopter to avoid protesters along the Tel Aviv-Jerusalem highway, Israel Radio reported.

The Prime Minister's Office, which is responsible for the GSS, would neither confirm nor deny the reports, saying it does not reveal information regarding the protection of ministers.

The intensified security followed calls by ultra-nationalists and settler leaders that the Wye Memorandum was an "act of treason." They later changed that to an "act of surrender," following heavy criticism that their language was similar to that leading up to the assassination of Yitzhak Rabin.

This is not the first time the guard has been increased on Mordechai, who said he is not frightened by threats. "I won't change my habits, and these pseudo-patriots don't scare me," Mordechai told Israel Radio.



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NEWS

in brief

20,000 more Palestinian laborers allowed in

Israel has allowed the entry of another 20,000 Palestinian workers, half from the West Bank and half from the Gaza Strip, the army said yesterday. The total number of Palestinians allowed in is now 54,000. This is expected to ease the economic hardship suffered by the Palestinians, particularly since the territories were sealed for over a month of Jewish holidays, amid warnings Hamas intended to carry out a major attack. Despite the easing of the closure, military sources said that the threat of an attack is still high and are urging the public to remain alert. *Arieh O'Sullivan*

Palestinian journalists lift strike in Gaza

Journalists in the Gaza Strip said yesterday that the Palestinian Authority had apologized for the detention by police of 11 reporters at the home of Hamas founder Sheikh Ahmed Yassin. The Palestinian Journalists Syndicate said it had ended a strike called on Saturday over the incident after receiving assurances from a senior PA official, Tayeb Abdel-Rahim, that press freedoms would be observed. Abdel-Rahim's office was not available for comment. The 11 journalists were detained as they left Yassin's Gaza home on Friday after seeking his reaction to the signing of the Wye Memorandum. They were released two hours after their video and audio cassettes were confiscated. *Reuters*

Police release stabbing suspect

Police released Yonatan Dadovich on Friday afternoon after failing to find any evidence linking him with the stabbings of six Arab men, one of which was fatal, in the haredi neighborhoods of Mea She'arim and Beit Yisrael earlier this year. Laboratory tests of objects seized from Dadovich's apartment revealed nothing and so, after he passed a polygraph test, police decided to free him. At the time of his arrest, police stressed that they had "no definitive proof" linking Dadovich to the crimes. Dadovich denied any connection to the murder and other stabbings. He was arrested after the General Security Service told police Dadovich had ties to extreme right-wing groups. *Shi Davidi*

Palestinians fight US firm over canceled deal

The Palestinian Authority is pleading incompetence in its fight against a lawsuit that could force it to pay \$18.7 million in damages for cancelling a contract. *Newsweek* magazine reported yesterday. International Technologies Integration of Virginia won a concession in 1993 to set up the first Palestinian phone company, the magazine reports. PA Chairman Yasser Arafat later cancelled the deal and ITI won the \$18.7 million award in arbitration. But in a lawsuit in Federal District Court in Washington, Arafat economic adviser Mohammed Rashid argued that Arafat did not understand what he was signing when the contract was drawn up. *Reuters*

Grapes of Wrath monitoring group to meet

Israel yesterday lodged another complaint with the Grapes of Wrath monitoring group over recent firing by gunmen from inside Majdal Zoun village, north of the security zone. The five-nation committee, established to supervise the understandings reached at the end of Operation Grapes of Wrath in April 1996, is to convene at UNIFIL's headquarters in Nakoura today to consider other complaints submitted by Israel and Lebanon. These include the incident over a week ago in which at least three artillery shells fired by Hizbullah exploded in the orchard of a Western Galilee moshav. *David Rudge*

Hospital mistake may paralyze woman

A 23-year-old woman lost the sensations in her lower limbs yesterday when a member of the obstetrics staff at Hillel Jaffe Hospital in Hadera mistakenly injected her with an apparently dangerous chemical in addition to an epidural anesthesia. The Health Ministry spokesman said it was not known whether she would recover feeling in her legs or whether she was paralyzed, but he said that she was lucky to be alive as "the mistaken compound could have killed her." *Judy Siegel*

PM: I had hoped the US would release Pollard

By DANNA HARMAN

Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu returned home without convicted spy Jonathan Pollard, and without a concrete promise for his release.

However, in a series of interviews given before his departure from Washington Saturday night, and again on his return, Netanyahu reiterated his sense of urgency about the matter.

In an interview with Reuters, Netanyahu sounded somewhat bitter that President Bill Clinton had refused his request, saying Pollard's continued imprisonment was the one disappointment of the Middle East peace talks.

"I had hoped that this would be a juncture at which he would be released," Netanyahu said. "I have been asked to take very, very difficult decisions. I put my own personal political future at risk. I have been asked to cede part of my homeland to the Palestinians, and I was asked to release hundreds of Palestinian prisoners, many of whom committed security offenses against the people of Israel."

"Everyone could have contributed something. I had hoped the United States would find a way, and I still do, that they would find mercy in their hearts after 13 years of solitary confinement to forgive and let this man go to Israel," said Netanyahu.

Disappointed or not, Netanyahu decided to go through with the signing ceremony, despite having gotten only a lukewarm promise from Clinton that Pollard's case would be reviewed. Clinton last turned down a request for Pollard's release in 1996. Asked by Channel 1 if he had an understanding with Clinton about an eventual release, Netanyahu said: "I am not going to get into it. This is not something I brought up in the last minute. It was something I had already discussed with him on my previous visit to the United States. The president did say at the end of the talks that he would enter into a review process, and I hope this review will produce the release of Pollard."

Netanyahu added that he does not feel the public demand for Pollard's release was harming Israeli-American relations.

"He did something terribly wrong in what he did," he told Reuters, "but he did not do that in order to hurt the United States but to assist Israel, to give us information, for example, about Saddam Hussein and Iraq."

Pollard, meanwhile, told Israeli Army radio that he is rotting in jail because Netanyahu had failed to secure his release at a peace summit. "You cannot sit with the Americans and pretend to be a guardian of Israel's security, while you sit back and let one of your own agents rot," he said.

Settlers: PM no longer our leader

By MARGOT DUKENYITCH

The Council of Jewish Communities in Judea, Samaria and Gaza declared yesterday, after a four-hour executive board meeting, that Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu would no longer be considered the leader of the nationalist camp.

Twenty-seven settlers were arrested in protests against the Wye Memorandum staged in the West Bank yesterday. Two police officers were hurt while quelling the demonstrations.

A council statement expressed deep disappointment in Netanyahu and the delegation of ministers who were partners to what they called a "pathetic capitulation."

Council spokeswoman Yehudit Tayar said that some 18 executive board members took part in the long and painful meeting and in a majority vote decided that the council and all of its supporting parties in Israel will prepare a comprehensive poll in order to choose a new candidate to lead the nationalist camp.

Council members also scheduled a meet-

ing for this afternoon to decide what steps to take in order to delay the implementation of the Wye Memorandum, Tayar said.

Outraged settlers took to the highways throughout Judea and Samaria yesterday morning, blocking intersections intermittently for two hours.

Judea and Samaria Police Spokesman Opher Sivan said 27 protesters were arrested during clashes that broke out when police attempted to move them to the roadside in order to allow traffic to move freely. Sivan said 17 were arrested in the Binyamin region, seven in Samaria and three in Hebron. They all were detained for questioning and 21 were released. Police plan to file charges against all 27 for disturbing the peace, Sivan said.

Remand hearings were scheduled last night at Petah Tikva Magistrate's Court and Jerusalem Magistrate's Court for the six other protesters, who, Sivan said, attacked police.

In addition, Sivan said, three youths were arrested during the night as they prepared fires to burn at the protests on the Jerusalem-Jericho highway yesterday. The

three were released after questioning.

Tayar said yesterday that several months ago the council determined that a 13 percent withdrawal from the West Bank would leave 18 Jewish communities surrounded by Palestinian Authority-controlled areas. This conclusion will have to be checked again, she said, but "what we perceived some months ago will probably be correct now."

Meanwhile, Yehuda Liebman whose brother Shlomo was murdered in a terror attack in Yitzhar on August 4, is currently on a hunger strike with other relatives of terror victims.

"Since the agreement signing on Friday a left-wing government is now in power," he charged, adding, "Bibi is no longer our prime minister."

The only response to the Wye agreement, Liebman said, is for residents from all communities to take over hilltops and land to strengthen the Jewish presence in Judea and Samaria.

Former council chairman Yisrael Harel told Arutz 7 radio that the current leadership

had failed and that it was time to return security to the public.

The public must prepare for new elections and put forward a candidate who is trustworthy and a believer in Eretz Yisrael, he said, suggesting that MK Hanan Port (NRP) is a suitable candidate.

Meanwhile, Beit El Mayor Uri Ariel and Benny Katsover were scheduled to meet last night to announce the establishment of the Tekumah Party. They said they would refrain from forming a party if the National Religious Party were to leave the Netanyahu government. They also didn't rule out the possibility of joining forces with the Land of Israel Front.

Settlers in the Jordan Valley settlement Tomer have announced that work already has started on a new neighborhood containing 55 units that will be established in the name of Cpl. Michal Adato, who was murdered at the entrance to Tomer on October 9.

Arutz 7 reported that the Prime Minister's Office recently authorized settlements to build new neighborhoods as a direct response to terror attacks.

PA security forces kill Arab youth, wound three

By STEVE RODAN and MOHAMMED NAJIB

Palestinian security forces used live fire against members of Yasser Arafat's Fatah movement in Ramallah yesterday, killing a youth and wounding three other people.

The fatality was identified as Wasim Yousef Tarifi, 18, a nephew of PA Civil Affairs Minister Jamil Tarifi.

The shooting occurred during a demonstration by hundreds of Fatah members, who were protesting a raid on their offices by PA military intelligence after midnight on Saturday. Fatah members said PA security agents seized records and broke furniture.

"This was a crime," said Ibrahim Khreisha, a member of the Fatah youth movement and former head of the Bir Zeit University student council. "We will not respond in the same way. Had we done so, we would not have conducted a peaceful march."

Palestinian sources said this was the first time that PA security forces fired at Fatah.

Fatah members said they were marching peacefully in a demonstration headed by the movement's secretary-general, Marwan Barghouti, and joined by Palestinian Legislative Council members. Some of the protesters shouted that the head of the PA military intelligence

was a spy for Israel and should be beaten.

Barghouti called for order and told the demonstrators to disperse. At that point, eyewitnesses said, some of the protesters began to throw stones at the military intelligence headquarters. The security forces responded with live fire.

Tarifi was shot in the head and taken to Ramallah Government Hospital. There he underwent surgery before being sent to Hadassah-University hospital, where he died.

Hundreds of Fatah activists blocked the main streets in Ramallah with barrels and stones and brought out rifles. They ordered shops to close as ambulances arrived to remove more wounded.

"We will not allow this incident to pass without punishment," said PA Police commander Brig.-Gen. Haj Ismail Jabber.

PA sources said the raid and subsequent shooting occurred as the PA has embarked on a crackdown on suspected opponents of the Wye Plantation accords. Several Hamas activists have already been arrested, including two prominent clerics in Gaza and Nablus.

One of them is Sheikh Hamed Bitawi, who is employed by the PA's Waqf Islamic Affairs Ministry. Bitawi criticized the Wye accords in a television interview.



Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu, accompanied by his wife Sara and Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai, waves upon his arrival from the US at Ben-Gurion Airport yesterday. (Israel Sam)

Moledet no-confidence move given no chance of passing

By LIAT COLLINS

Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu today faces his first challenge in the Knesset since signing the Wye Memorandum as Moledet has said it will not retract its no-confidence motion, scheduled to be heard this afternoon.

"We intend going ahead with the no-confidence motion over this defeatist and shameful agreement even though Netanyahu has been promised a safety net and the motion probably will not pass," said Moledet MK Benny Elon yesterday.

A no-confidence motion needs the support of at least 61 MKs to topple the government.

The more significant debate is likely to come later in the week or early next week when Netanyahu presents the Wye agreement to the Knesset. He can only do this after the cabinet has approved it. Again there seems no real threat of its failing given the safety net being provided by the Left.

Yesterday, Speaker Dan Tichon agreed to Netanyahu presenting the agreement as part of the political address he has to give the Knesset. The Knesset should have opened with this

address last week after it returned from summer recess, but Netanyahu was granted a delay to give him time to complete the talks Wye. This address has to be voted on.

Meretz whip Haim Oron last night demanded that Tichon and House Committee chairman Raphael Pinhasi (Shas) hold the political address and vote on it today as planned, even if it does not include the details and vote on the Wye agreement.

Oron noted that the House Rules oblige the premier to give an opening statement at the start of a new sitting. "Last week, the official date for the prime minister's appearance became the excuse for staying at the summit and now he is scared to appear before the Knesset, as is clearly required by the House Rules. This is not a subject for negotiation between the prime minister and the Speaker, but an obligation," he said.

The House Committee is expected to decide on the issue this morning.

Technically, the Wye Memorandum need not be presented to the Knesset, although traditionally international agreements are brought before it for a vote.

The agreement does require cabinet approval.

Clinton deserves praise for job well done

WASHINGTON - The cynics will be satisfied, proclaiming "I told you so."

The cynics will be wrong. As President Bill Clinton headed into the Wye Plantation negotiations 10 days ago, he stood to gain

COMMENT

By HILLEL KUTLER

much if Israel and the Palestinians

With deep sorrow we announce the passing of

MARY BROD

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AVRAHAM LIS

Writer and director of Beth Shalom Aleichem, a man of so many virtues, kindness and love

The funeral will be leaving from Beth Shalom Aleichem, 4 Rehov Berkovitz, for Holon cemetery, today at 11 a.m.

Transportation will be available.

In deep sorrow, Wife, Sonia, sisters and families

IDF preparing for redeployment

By ARIEH O'SULLIVAN

emerged with an overdue redeployment-for-security accord. His domestic critics, however, saw a shamed, admitted adulterer desperately looking to project a presidential aura as Congress was gearing up for hearings that could lead to his impeachment.

The week's by-product, the Wye Memorandum, should lay to rest the notion that Clinton manipulated the summit for personal gain. Clinton certainly comes out looking good, but for once official Washington ought to take what occurred at face value and forfeit the temptation to view everything through a political prism.

The president's yeoman service at Wye is what it is: the act of a statesman.

A differentiation must be made between creating an opportunity - or even exploiting one presented - for personal gain and coincidence. The yardstick ought to be whether Clinton would have handled the Wye talks any differently were he not fighting for his political life.

By that standard, Clinton passes with flying colors. His credentials over five years in office in working to resolve the Arab-Israeli conflict were sufficiently meritorious to have justified his utilizing the power of his office to host a critical summit when he did.

Some initial preparations are under way in the IDF for implementing the Wye Memorandum, but military sources said that they are being delayed by a lack of details.

Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai is expected to convene the top IDF brass today in Tel Aviv to brief them on the agreements and to issue directions on how the army is to implement them, his spokesman Avi Benayahu said.

Last night, Central Command sources said they have yet to receive specific instructions on what areas are to be handed over and which bases are to be moved.

"We are starting to work on the whole matter. But for now we are waiting for the senior command to be given the go ahead to move," said one source.

The ambiguity over the areas from which the IDF is expected to pull back has also prevented the army from saying just how many bases will be dismantled. Military sources said it would be no more than 10, none of them major.

Two bases reportedly slated for closing and transfer are the Golani basic training camp at Bezek, east of Jenin, and Sanatour, near Nablus, home to the Paratroop Brigade's recruits. Bezek is reportedly to be

relocated to the Wadi Ara region and Sanatour in the Lachish region of the northern Negev.

But military sources said this report is premature and that there are no immediate plans to shut the two training camps. Also, the dismantling of a small base near Ma'aleh Ephraim last week was not connected to the redeployment, military sources said.

Deputy Chief of General Staff Maj.-Gen. Uzi Dayan is slated to oversee the entire redeployment, military sources said. As a former OC Central Command, Dayan is intimately acquainted with the territory and settlements.

Most of the bases will be moved to new camps in Judea and Samaria or relocated to the Negev. The IDF would not say how much the redeployment will cost. Reports in the Israeli media have said it could be NIS 1 billion-NIS

2 billion. This would include by-pass roads. US President Bill Clinton said on Friday that he is recommending more aid for Israel, but no amount was mentioned.

In any event, it appears likely that some troops will be redeployed in the winter in temporary tents while their new bases are being constructed.

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Strained relations

IN CONTEXT / HERB KEINON

"At Wye Plantation," Palestinian Authority Chairman Yasser Arafat could be excused for telling his close advisers, "I forged a closer alliance with the US."

One of the byproducts of the Wye summit and agreement, a senior American official said, has been a softening of the US position toward a Palestinian state. Arafat, in this official's eyes, was the clear winner of the summit.

Not only does Arafat get an IDF withdrawal, but he also will merit a visit by President Bill Clinton when the Palestinian National Council convenes to amend the Palestinian Covenant. Further, the president lavished warm words of praise on Arafat at the signing ceremony, placing him on an even footing with Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu.

The atmosphere between the Americans and the Israelis at the summit was terrible, the official said. When Netanyahu linked signing the agreement to the release of Jonathan Pollard, Clinton threw down his papers, according to the official, and said, "That is despicable."

But, said Reuven Merhav, former director-general of the Foreign Ministry, these points of friction will be forgotten when the agreement is implemented.

"It is like when you build a house," he said, "sometimes the contractor causes you enormous grief, and sometimes you finish with a good taste in your mouth."

With time, he said, things like this are forgotten.

Merhav said it would be mistake to say there is a "crisis" in Israel-US relations because of a few unpleasant incidents between the Israeli and American delegations at Wye.

The relations between the two countries are so important, and so long-standing, that it is silly to reduce them to a point where anger from one party toward another during the heat of negotiations is termed a crisis," he said.

Indeed, the US official said, the US administration has a problem

with Netanyahu, but it will not impinge on bilateral relations.

What is of far greater consequence than the tense personal relations between Clinton and Netanyahu, said Joseph Alpher, director of the Israel/Middle East office of the American Jewish Committee, is that as a result of the Wye Memorandum, the US will take on a much more active role in the whole implementation process - something not necessarily beneficial for Israel.

According to Alpher, the US resents having been placed in such an active role.

"Clinton would much rather have preferred if the two sides could have worked matters out by themselves, like in the good old days, and then gathered at the White House for a ceremony," he said.

"One of the consequences of Netanyahu's desire to slow the process, and his tough negotiating tactics and apparent inability to negotiate directly with the Palestinians has been the upgrading of the US from facilitator to participant in the negotiations. This began two years ago after the Western Wall tunnel incident," Alpher said. "At Wye the US position was upgraded even further, with the US now in a position as referee and active participant in implementing the security clauses."

The minute the US becomes so actively engaged, Alpher argued, Israeli-US relations become hostage to the process.

"Let's say there is some violation, and the US decides in favor of the Palestinians. This will then place Israel into a confrontation not only with the Palestinians, but also with the US," he said.

Further, he said, the active involvement of the CIA in the security agreement may limit Israel's ability to maneuver. It now will be much more difficult for Israel to retaliate against the PA for something it views as an infraction, he said, because the opinion of the CIA on the matter will have to be considered.

Police halt work at Ras al-Amud

By AMY KLEIN

Jerusalem police yesterday stopped a backhoe from digging the foundations for a fence to surround a 15-dunam (3.75-acre) plot of land in Jerusalem's Ras al-Amud neighborhood.

Some four months ago, the Jerusalem Municipality issued permits to build 132 apartments for Jewish housing on the empty plot, which is owned by American millionaire Dr. Irving Moskowitz.

The olive tree-lined, rocky plot lies adjacent to Moskowitz's Ras al-Amud house, which was inhabited by Ateret Kohanim Yeshiva students last fall in an incident that sparked violent clashes with peace activists.

Ateret Kohanim students came to the site early yesterday morning as their hired backhoe began work on a fence to enclose the area. Police halted the work, saying it would disturb the peace, and went to check the building permit with higher authorities.

Ateret Kohanim administrator Yossi Kaufman said he does not need police permission to begin work.

"I already have all the permits. We will build the fence despite their answer," Kaufman said.

After they erect the fence, Kaufman said, they will invite archeologists to excavate the land and approve it for the construction of apartment buildings.

Palestinian Minister for Jerusalem Affairs Faisal Hussein and peace activists came to Ras al-Amud yesterday morning to protest against the construction.

Meretz MKs Ran Cohen and Naomi Chazan, who is running for mayor of Jerusalem, joined the peace activists.



A Border Police officer reports the situation under control yesterday at Jerusalem's controversial Ras al-Amud construction site.

(Flash 90)

"They are trying to torpedo the peace agreement, when they know that an overriding majority of the nation supports it," said Cohen.

Kaufman denied the allega-

tions. "We were supposed to start building last week, but we deliberately waited until after the agreement was signed so we wouldn't be called provocative," he said.

Kaufman said Jerusalem will now be coming to the forefront of negotiations, and he hopes the day's activities would be the first of "many legal operations to strengthen Jerusalem."

Peace Now spokeswoman Hagit Ya'ari asked to clear the workers from the area and promised to demonstrate "even more radically" than last year if the project begins.

Experts: New CIA links will tie our hands

By ARIEL O'SULLIVAN

The new CIA-supervised security arrangements aimed at combating terrorism tie Israel's hands and will likely create tension with the United States, former intelligence officials said.

Nevertheless, the unprecedented step is necessary to make sure the Palestinian Authority carries through with its commitment to crack down on terrorists, the officials said.

According to the Wye Plantation agreement, the Central Intelligence Agency is to mediate between the General Security Service and the security forces of the PA. CIA operatives will not only resolve Israeli-PA disputes over action against terrorists, but will also play an operative role in implementing the crackdown.

"It is not to our benefit [that the CIA participate]," said David Kimche, a former senior Mossad executive. "The introduction of a third party, to have someone in-between, has never been our desire."

But it happened because of a complete loss of confidence between us and the Palestinians."

Yossi Ginosar, former head of the GSS, said the heavy involvement of the CIA is a "step-up in the coordination between the United States and the Palestinians... I'd say the CIA has been called on to be a sheriff in the Wild West," Ginosar said on Israel radio.

Ginosar said the agreement paves the way to conflict with the Americans instead of the Palestinians in the event of Israeli dissatisfaction.

"The situation now is that, instead of arguing with the Palestinians, we'll be arguing with the Americans. Is it in Israel's interest to be in conflict with the American administration through the CIA?" Ginosar asked. "I'm not sure this is worthwhile for us."

Kimche said that now Israel is helpless to act directly and independently against terrorist targets in Palestinian Authority areas. He also called the CIA involvement a needless cause of potential friction.

Habad withdraws support for PM

Habad yesterday announced it is withdrawing its support from Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu because of the Wye Plantation agreement, which movement leaders described as dangerous.

"We no longer support Netanyahu nor see him as our representative, and we hope that the Jews get aid

and relief from another quarter," Habad spokesman Menahem Brod told *The Jerusalem Post*.

Habad had initiated the "Netanyahu is good for the Jews" campaign which is believed to have turned the last election in his favor.

Michal Yudelman

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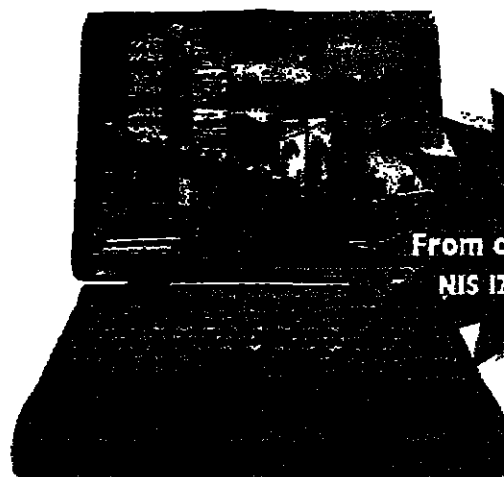
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DELL WE'RE TALKING BUSINESS!

From Woodstock to war zone

By ARYEH DEAN COHEN

Student leaders had promised yesterday's opening day of classes at the nation's universities would be "like Woodstock." But while the music and the mood at the Hebrew University's Mt. Scopus campus might have seemed like Yagur's Farm, the batons wielded later by mounted and border policemen clashing with the striking students were more reminiscent of confrontations on US college campuses in the '60s and '70s.

Ditching their classes for what amounted to "Introduction to Civil Disobedience" appeared an easy choice early yesterday morning. The sun was out, the huge speakers placed atop the main pedestrian entrance to the university were blasting a samba beat, and thousands of students were returning to school after the summer.

The atmosphere was party-like, a reunion of sorts. Gates were festooned with large, orange-and-black posters urging the authorities to "Let us study in this country."

Students stepping off the bus near the Resnick Dormitories were greeted by comrades brandishing megaphones, who reminded them that "the university is closed today to press our demands to reduce tuition by 50 percent."

In highly organized fashion, students stopped approaching buses, checked them for students, then waved to their colleagues to let the bus past, as campus security guards and most bus drivers cooperated.

Almost all the students supported the strike. Sergei Minkov, a new immigrant from Ukraine, explained: "I plan on joining and fighting with my colleagues to the end," he said. "I'm getting my tuition paid now by the Student Authority, but that will run out eventually and I'll have to pay like everyone else."

Amit Zinman, of Ra'anana, who was supposed to start his English literature studies yesterday, was sitting under a tree, listening to pop songs whose lyrics had been altered to include various vilifications of Finance Minister Yassov Neeman.

"I don't think Neeman cares, but I don't think the political leadership is interested in seeing rebellion and chaos, and will want to reach some kind of compromise," Zinman said. He was still considering "just how far" his own personal protest would go. "I haven't been in jail yet," he joked.

Even foreign students were affected, with Lechee Goldenberg of Montreal, unable to even reach the bank machine on campus.

Nonetheless, she said, "I support the strike. My parents are Israelis, and when they studied here it was much cheaper. These people go to the army for 2-3 years, and then they get screwed."

Inside, the university was deserted, the coffee shop usually filled with chattering students eerily silent. There were no lines at the library coat check room, and the cavernous hallways linking the various departments seemed like some kind of subterranean ghost town.

Outside, few if any students appeared concerned about missing class, except for one young master's student who had to return a book to a teacher, and another young man who was trying to bring a half dozen roses to his wife, a university employee.

Shortly after 10 a.m., student leaders called the demonstrators to sit down on the road, and about 100 quickly did so. "Neeman, Neeman, wake up. Neeman, Neeman, resign," they sang as photographers snapped their pictures. Others held signs reading: "We work at night, and sleep during the lectures."

Police, meanwhile, were present in force, but initially allowed the students to sit on the road, since alternative routes were still open.

They listened with the students

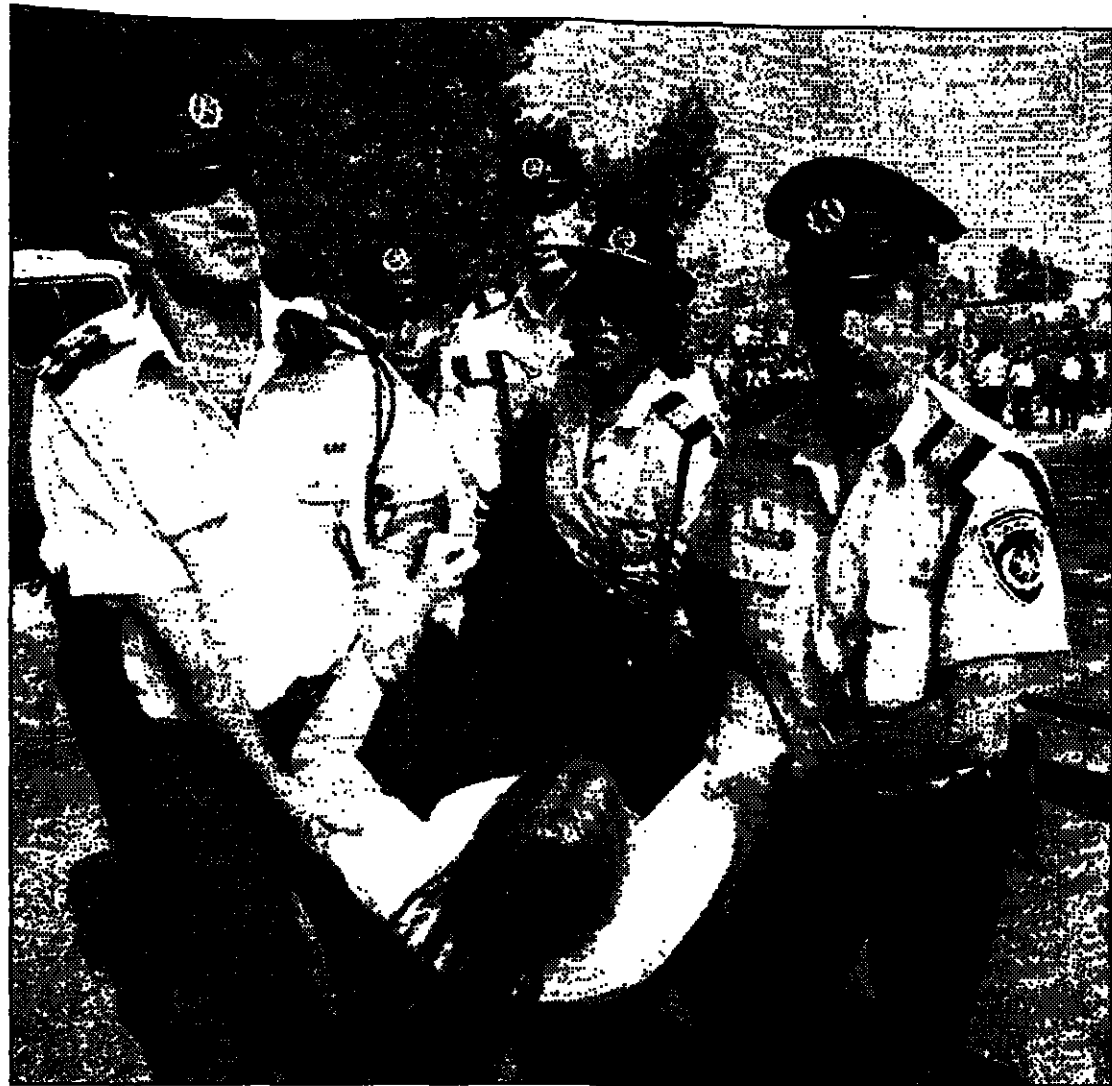
to speeches by Ophir Pines and other MKs. Catching some rays in the process, the students prepared to perhaps spend the night in a tent set up opposite the entrance to campus. "Bring your guitar," advised a student managing the adjoining sign-up table.

But the holiday tone of the day turned dark quickly. Reports began to trickle in about arrests on nearby Route No. 4, and groups of students spontaneously drifted away from the main gate, marching to the Hyatt Hotel via the adjoining road, which also services Hadassah-University Hospital and trying to block it.

That was too much for the police. One eyewitness described the ensuing clashes as "reminiscent of clashes with Palestinian demonstrators." Eight students were arrested; three required emergency room treatment.

As the afternoon wore on and news of the violence in Tel Aviv and the earlier arrests was received, a dance step different than the one seen earlier developed. Students moved to the French Hill intersection of Route No. 1, darning onto the highway chanting slogans, then fleeing again as police chased or dragged them away.

Woodstock was over for the day; the battle to cut tuition had taken to the streets.



Police carry off a student demonstrator yesterday from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem's Mount Scopus campus. (Brian Hendler)

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Mother of Israel

Odella Godner, 40, poses with a surprise birthday cake and 12 of her 13 children born at Hadassah-University Hospital in Jerusalem's Ein Kerem after giving birth there last week. The hospital threw her a surprise party as her husband, Bentzi, and her midwife, Smadar Alroi, look on. The newborn boy - their fifth - was in an incubator being treated for jaundice. (Avi Hayoun)

Tel Aviv going to the dogs

By LIAT COLLINS

There is a new place in Tel Aviv to go for a drink and good time with a friend, preferably a friend with four legs. The Dogs' Pub, which opened yesterday at Gan Meir on King George Street, is exactly that: a meeting place for canines who bring their owners along.

The puppy pub is sponsored by the Tel Aviv Municipality which sees it as a place to provide water and food and accessories for the

city's pets, as well as information on animal-welfare issues.

The pub is located in a fenced-in, half-dunam area of the park with benches for the humans to sit on and drinking fountains adapted to a height convenient for canines. There are also feeding spots and toys for the animals. It should prove popular to those in "puppy love."

The idea is to create a separate area where the dogs can play without getting in the way of young children in the park or using the sand boxes as public toilets. And,

of course, it is also a place for the owners to meet," said Tel Aviv councilor Amir Halevi (Likud). Halevi suggested the idea to the municipality based on a similar park he saw in New York.

Among the services provided at the site is a bulletin board for people looking for pets, pets looking for a "shidduch," and information on the city's campaign of free spaying and neutering of street cats and animal ambulance service.

A stage is planned for events sponsored by animal welfare

groups. Not surprisingly, among the accessories available are "pooper scooper" bags to keep both the city and pub area clean.

According to Halevi, the pub experiment will be copied in other parts of the city, which is home to some 14,000 dogs. He said he is also working on a planned separate beach for pets, which would probably make Tel Aviv the first city in the world to have separate bathing facilities for men, women, and dogs.

Funds, hospitals, and doctors reject Matza plan

By JUDY SIEGEL

Health Minister Yehoshua Matza's triumphant declaration yesterday that he had reached agreement with the Treasury for increased health services' funding for 1998 and 1999 had a hollow ring a few hours later: the four health funds, the Hospital Directors' Association (HDA), and the Israel Medical Association announced jointly that they "don't see the ministry's proposals as a solution to the crisis."

The HDA, representing heads of all public and private hospitals in the country, will meet tonight to decide whether to institute an immediate and open-ended emergency schedule in some or all public hospitals. "The various health organizations categorically reject the government's attempts to set additional conditions for transferring its debts to the health system," the HDA said in a statement. "The insurers have carried out efficiency measures worth hundreds of millions of shekels this year, and any government conditions for repaying

its debts are just another exercise of the Treasury to delay, yet another time, transfer of what it owes. We're sick and tired of government promises that have not been met."

Matza and his director-general, Gabi Barabash, told reporters in his office yesterday that "six or eight months of often-bitter struggles with the Treasury are over. It lets us open a new chapter of relations with the health funds. This is the basis for stabilization of the system for the next year and a half."

The Treasury, he said, has agreed to allocate NIS 880 million for 1998, comprising NIS 300 million for the basic basket of health services, NIS 150 million for updating the basket with new drugs and technologies, and NIS 130 million added to the existing NIS 300 million "safety net" (the increment in lieu of monthly health fund taxes on residents; a scheme that went nowhere).

The 1998 figure would constitute a 5.9% to 6% increase over the previous year. For 1999, the Treasury promised about NIS 450 million for the basic basket and basket update,

NIS 250 million for the "safety net," and NIS 160 in lieu of monthly health fund taxes, for an increase of about 5.7%.

But Matza said that getting the extra money is conditional on each of the health funds signing an agreement with the Health Ministry setting down what cancelled services they would restore, how they would pay their debts to the hospitals, and what additional efficiency measures would be implemented. One example of a service that would have to be restored, Matza said, is in-vitro fertilization treatments for infertile women (the National Health Insurance Law covers fertility treatments to produce two children for each member).

HDA Prof. Ya'acov Hart said hospital directors would not agree to anything that didn't mean immediate payment by the health funds of their NIS 700 million in debts. "Voluntary hospitals can't pay their next month's salaries, and suppliers are going bankrupt because the hospitals can't pay what they owe. We will not compromise on this," said Hart.

Israeli experiments to be conducted on space shuttle

By JUDY SIEGEL

A space medicine expert at Hadassah-University Hospital on Mt. Scopus in Jerusalem is flying to the US today to follow his experiments being conducted on the space shuttle *Discovery* to be launched on Thursday.

The experiments will test the thinning effect of space on mouse bones and a vitamin D-calcium supplement against osteoporosis will be launched from Cape Canaveral, Florida.

When the astronauts return to earth nine days later, Dr. Eran Schenker and his team will examine one of them - John Glenn, 77,

who in 1962 was the first US astronaut to be launched into space.

"It's known that the absence of gravity speeds up the loss of calcium, much beyond what occurs on Earth. We will compare the process of calcium loss in the mouse bone cells with what happens in Glenn's body," Schenker said last night. This could lead to better understanding and treatment of osteoporosis.

The bone cell experiment, run in cooperation with Dr. Kevin Forkheim of Canada and Dr. John Cassanti of the US, will be carried out automatically - without the astronauts' intervention - in a

container the size of a microwave oven built by the ITA company in Pennsylvania. While the effects of the vitamin D-calcium supplement Caltrate against osteoporosis will be determined this flight, another experiment on a different shuttle flight next year will test the effects of anti-osteoporosis drugs, such as Evista and Fosamax.

The \$3 million experiment, to which the Israel Space Agency and the Health Ministry have contributed NIS 20,000, was selected by NASA among thousands of proposals, and will be the fourth Israeli-designed experiment sent to space.

Haifa court to rule on ownership battle over Yiddish writer's home

By SHI DAVIDI

The grandson of David Pinski will today ask a Haifa District Court judge to reconsider an earlier decision which gave ownership of the Yiddish dramatist and novelist's old flat in Haifa to the Labor Party.

Dr. Gabriel Pinski claims that a January 2, 1997 ruling by Judge Oded Gershon on granting the Labor party the right to register a deed to the flat, was made without his notification by Labor's lawyer and violates an agreement reached between the Pinski family and what was then the Mapai party.

The apparent verbal and written agreements between the Pinski family and Mapai gave the flat at 91 Rehov Moriah to the party if it preserved it as a memorial to him, a place for writers and artists to use, and kept its library and some contents intact.

In December 1997, when Gabriel Pinski and his wife Avivah, a lawyer, came to Israel to ask Judge Gershon to reopen the

case, they were shocked to find Weight Watchers signs in the window and on the door and all its contents - including the vast library, gone. They were told by neighbors that Labor had used the flat as a campaign office during the 1996 election.

The last memories Gabriel and Avivah Pinski, who reside in Wymwood, a Philadelphia suburb, had of the flat was as a memorial called Beit Pinski. They have a picture of the sign from 1972.

"It was my impression all these years that there was a memorial in Beit Pinski," said Gabriel. "It's a shock to realize that it's just a shell and there is no writer's memorial. Especially now that there is a revival of the Yiddish language... It's very distressing."

Shmuel Lior, attorney for the Labor Party and the Beit Arlosoroff Company Ltd., Labor's property corporation, would only say: "I don't discuss cases with the media before they take place. The court will decide and we will abide by the court's

decision." David Pinski, a renowned Yiddish literary figure who wrote 60-70 plays, two novels, numerous poems, and columns for various publications, was also a prominent Labor Zionist and was closely tied to Mapai until his death in 1959.

The Pinski family was told by David Pinski's Mapai colleagues that he had left no will.

The Pinski's say that since Labor has not lived up to its responsibilities, the flat should be returned to them. They claim that when Gershon ruled in 1997, Lior did not inform them in time to respond properly.

Avivah Pinski filed a petition with Gershon when she learned of his decision, and he agreed to hold a hearing on whether to reopen the case.

"We would hope the judge would reopen the case and hear it on its merits," said Avivah Pinski. "When the judge heard the case the first time he didn't hear our side."

"With David Pinski, there was dual setup between party and literature," recalled Gabriel Pinski. "He was certainly an involved Zionist, as well as a philosopher and writer... it seems once his colleagues passed away those who took over were more politicians."

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WORLD

in brief

Typhoon Babs floods Taiwan

TAIPEI, Taiwan (AP) — Typhoon Babs brought torrential rains and landslides to Taiwan and lashed Hong Kong with strong winds yesterday after killing at least 156 people in the Philippines and leaving hundreds of thousands homeless.

The Hong Kong Observatory said that at 10 p.m. the typhoon, packing sustained winds of 130 kph, was centered about 300 kilometers southeast of the territory. It was moving at about 10 kph toward the south China coast. The storm was expected to be closest to Hong Kong tomorrow, the observatory said.

Chirac, Jospin popularity down - poll

PARIS (AP) — Student discontent, retiree rage, stubborn unemployment, and transit strikes sparked by youth violence are finally taking their toll on the once-lofty approval ratings of France's leaders.

A poll published yesterday indicates a sharp ratings drop for both conservative President Jacques Chirac and Socialist Prime Minister Lionel Jospin. Another survey said Jospin's education minister has not done enough to improve aging and overcrowded high schools, whose students plan to protest nationwide again next month.

"Chirac-Jospin: the fall" headlined the *Journal de Dimanche* in reporting Chirac's rating in October dropped six points to 56 percent. Jospin, whose ratings once topped 70%, got a 54% approval rating, down seven points, according to the IPOP agency poll.

Blair, Aznar say Pinochet's fate up to judges

POERTSCHACH, Austria (AP) — The British and Spanish prime ministers said yesterday that the fate of former Chilean dictator Gen. Augusto Pinochet is in the hands of their judicial authorities and they will not interfere. "Both myself and Mr. Aznar agree this is not a matter for us to discuss," British Prime Minister Tony Blair said, referring to Spanish leader Jose Maria Aznar. "I've avoided commenting on that judicial process and I don't intend to do so."

Aznar made similar comments when he met journalists on the margin of a European Union summit in this Alpine lakeside resort. Pinochet is under arrest in a London hospital where he'd gone for back surgery. He was detained on a warrant from a Spanish magistrate seeking to extradite him on charges of genocide, terrorism and torture during his 1973-90 rule. The Chilean government has urged Britain to release Pinochet on humanitarian grounds, and argued that as a senator, he is entitled to diplomatic immunity.

Chechnya anti-kidnapping official assassinated

GROZNY, Russia (AP) — Chechnya's top anti-kidnapping official was killed yesterday when a bomb tore his car to pieces on the day he was to launch a major offensive on hostage-takers in the breakaway republic. Shadid Bargishev's two bodyguards were in critical condition after suffering serious injuries in the accident, and several passersby were also injured, doctors said.

Bargishev, 27, died on the operating table after losing both legs in the blast in the parking lot of the anti-kidnapping department office in the Chechen capital of Grozny. Chechen President Aslan Maskhadov's office said in a statement. The explosion came as law enforcement officials were preparing a large operation to rescue people kidnapped in Chechnya. Bargishev's colleagues insisted they would not be intimidated by the attack and would go ahead with the offensive.

Intruder arrested at US embassy in Berlin

BERLIN (AP) — A man who entered the US Embassy with a fake bomb, two knives and a starter pistol was arrested by anti-terrorist agents after a guard set off a security alert, police said yesterday.

The 56-year-old German, who apparently is mentally disturbed, persuaded a Marine guard to open the embassy door Saturday by asking for political asylum, police said. The man surrendered his knives and pistol but stepped back and set off an alarm when the guard saw what looked like a bomb. Anti-terrorist police arrived at the building in central Berlin within minutes, subdued the man and exposed the apparent bomb as a fake, police said. The man, whose name was not released, was committed to a psychiatric clinic.

An embassy spokesman was quoted in the *Berliner Morgenpost* newspaper as saying that security officers had acted according to procedure.

Uncensored war films of Hitler unearthed

BONN, (Reuters) — German television was expected to show rare uncensored color film of Adolf Hitler late last night.

Kept unseen for more than half a century by an American war veteran, it includes Hitler meeting badly wounded soldiers, which would have been cut by Nazi censors from other films of the time. *Der Spiegel* magazine said in a report released ahead of publication.

The footage was shot by Hitler's personal pilot Hans Baur between 1938 and 1945. He used a 16-mm camera and early color film produced by the German photo firm Agfa, said Spiegel, the television arm of which made the program being broadcast.

Serbs hold Kosovo ground; NATO generals end talks

By MARK HEINRICH

BELGRADE (Reuters) — NATO generals yesterday wound up urgent talks to get Serbian troops out of Kosovo, but combat forces continued to roam with impunity as if they had dismissed threats of air strikes, Western monitors reported.

Large numbers of government security forces remained in the province — including a previously unreported Yugoslav federal army armored battalion rolling into a tense western pocket — and gunfire echoed around the foggy hills.

Ethnic Albanian villagers trying to bury an 11-year-old boy shot dead while chopping wood came under

repeated gunfire despite the presence of US diplomatic observers, a Reuters news team reported. The funeral was abandoned.

NATO supreme commander Gen. Wesley Clark and Gen. Klaus Naumann, chairman of his military committee, met Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic and commanding Gen. Momcilo Perisic for a 12-hour overnight session lasting until 5 a.m.

The talks resumed in the late morning under tight security and secrecy without media access and ended in mid-afternoon without word on the result. Diplomatic sources said Clark and Naumann were planning to fly back to

Brussels shortly.

Diplomats said the generals pressed Belgrade to accelerate military withdrawals from Kosovo to allow refugees displaced in fighting with ethnic Albanian insurgents to come home safely and open the way for talks on regional autonomy.

NATO has given Yugoslavia until tomorrow to stand down militarily in Kosovo or risk bombing runs on security forces that have overwhelmed the guerrillas, blown up and plundered Albanian towns, and driven 250,000 people from their homes. The deadline has been extended twice so far.

"They emphasized to Milosevic and Perisic that these were not

negotiations," a Western diplomat told Reuters. "They came to tell them compliance was insufficient and to make very clear that the activation order for NATO air strikes is still in place."

There is a dire need to get thousands of Kosovo Albanian refugees out of the mountains and forests and into habitable shelter before the Balkan winter descends.

But diplomatic observers found security forces and Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) guerrillas reinforcing emplacements in volatile pockets of central Kosovo at the weekend.

"It seems clear the Serbs have figured out that NATO isn't really

going to do anything," said a Western official in Kosovo who stressed he was speaking for a number of colleagues.

"Look, we moved all our embassy people back into the country after NATO extended an earlier air strike deadline, and soon 2,000 OSCE (Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe) verifiers are supposed to come in."

"When all the Westerners started pulling out a few weeks back, the Serbs really started paying attention to our demands. But now that we're moving back in ever larger numbers, this is not encouraging the Serbs to think we'll drop bombs on them."

Hard-liners win national elections for key Iranian assembly

TEHERAN, Iran (AP) — Iran's conservatives won a decisive victory in elections for a clergy-based assembly that oversees the country's supreme leader, official results showed yesterday.

The results were expected since most moderates had been dropped from the ballot in advance of Friday's election by a council that reviews candidates' eligibility and is dominated by hard-liners.

The hard-liners won at least 54 places on the 86-seat Assembly of Experts and the moderates only 13. Sixteen seats went to candidates whose political affiliation was unclear — but who probably lean toward the hard-line camp — and three to declared independents, who are believed to be closer to the moderates.

The outcome is a blow to moderates who had hoped to use the Assembly of Experts to curb the absolute powers of the supreme leader and broaden social and political freedoms for the average Iranian.

In Teheran moderate former president Hashemi Rafsanjani led the polls with 1,682,882 votes. Behind him was hard-liner Ali Meshkini, the current head of the Assembly of Experts, with 1,240,524 votes.

Hard-liners won 11 of the 16 seats in Teheran and moderates only five. Among the hard-liners who won in the capital were Mohammed Yazdi, head of the powerful judiciary, and Ahmed Jannati, who leads the council that vetted the candidates.

The results showed that only about 18 million of the 38.5 million eligible voters cast ballots.

The official media had reported crowded polling stations and a massive turnout, but visits to Teheran stations showed many nearly empty and calls to other parts of the country produced similar reports.



Turkish delight

"Turkey is secular and will remain so," and "Long live the republic," are two slogans chanted yesterday by thousands in the capital Ankara as they marched to the Mausoleum of Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, the founder of secular Turkey, to mark the 75th anniversary of the republic. (AP)

Basque voters go to the polls

VITORIA, Spain (AP) — Five weeks after separatists declared a cease-fire in their fight against Spain, Basque voters faced a decision in regional elections yesterday to either reward the pro-independence nationalists or support more mainstream parties.

Turnout was expected to be high among the 1.8 million registered voters despite chilly, rainy weather in much of this picturesque, wealthy region of northern Spain. Prime Minister Jose Maria

Aznar's is hoping heavy turnout will give his center-right Popular Party and other non-nationalist groups more clout in the Basque country to seek a lasting settlement to one of Western Europe's last regional conflicts without splitting Spain.

The armed separatist group ETA, whose name is a Basque-language acronym for Basque Homeland and Freedom, has killed nearly 800 people since 1968. It began its truce September 18, making this the first regional election held without a threat of violence.

A key question is how much support the cease-fire will attract for the third-placed, pro-ETA Herri Batasuna party, which is fielding candidates under a new coalition called Euskal Herriarrok.

Aznar says there can be no peace process until ETA accepts the results of the elections and renounces violence for good.

Although ETA has called cease-fires before, many Spaniards see this one as the best opportunity in years to end the conflict.

Doctor's slaying linked to previous killings

By CAROLYN THOMPSON

AMHERST, New York (AP) — A sniper killed a doctor who performs abortions, firing through the physician's kitchen window — the first fatality among five sniper attacks on upstate New York or Canadian abortionists in the last four years.

Dr. Barnett Slepian, 51, a target of anti-abortion protesters since the 1980s, was gunned down Friday night. The killing came days after authorities warned abortion providers in the region about possible violence because the four earlier attacks happened within a few weeks of November 11, Veterans Day.

"There's some type of connection on the date. We don't know what it is," Insp. David Bowen of the Hamilton-Wentworth (Ontario) police said over the weekend.

Bowen is part of a Canadian-American task force that has investigated the shootings since November 1997. Task force spokesman Keith McCaskill said the shooter or shooters had not con-

tacted authorities following any of the attacks.

Slepian's wife told police the shooting happened minutes after the couple returned home from synagogue. The Slepian's four sons, 7 to 15, also were home at the time.

Before Slepian, three Canadian doctors and a doctor near Rochester, N.Y., were wounded since 1994. In each case, the doctors were fired upon with a rifle through windows in their homes.

On a list of doctors who perform abortions, clinic workers, and others compiled posted on an Internet site, Slepian's name had a line through it. The list names abortion providers it says are working, wounded, or have been killed.

The Web site, which has rantings against homosexuality and the government, includes photos of aborted fetuses and has links to the Army of God. Letters signed by the shadowy Army of God claimed responsibility for the 1997 bombings of a gay bar in Atlanta and an abortion clinic, and this year's fatal Birmingham abortion clinic bombing.

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'King Lear' as a weak weepie

Movie Review

By Adina Hoffman

A Thousand Acres is a family drama set on a farm in Iowa, where a testy widower father (Jason Robards), two of his three grown daughters (Jessica Lange and Michelle Pfeiffer) and their families live in adjacent clapboard houses and, at the start of the film, apparent pastoral harmony.

Things soon grow complicated when Dad decides to form a cor-

A THOUSAND ACRES

Directed by Jocelyn Moorhouse. Screenplay by Laura Jones. Based on the novel by Jane Smiley. Hebrew title: *Reshaon shel Hiba*. English dialogue, Hebrew subtitles. Parental guidance strongly advised. With Jessica Lange, Michelle Pfeiffer, Jennifer Jason Leigh, Jason Robards, Colin Firth, Keith Carradine

poration and divide the land among his children. The two older sisters, Ginny and Rose, think it's a great idea, but the youngest (Jennifer Jason Leigh), Caroline, a stand-offish lawyer who lives in Des Moines, hesitates and says she needs to think about it. Her father, Larry, grows furious, cuts her out of the deal and bequeaths all the land to her sisters.

Ginny, Rose, Caroline, Larry: the names, as well as their actions may sound vaguely familiar, as Jane Smiley's Pulitzer Prize-winning novel, on which Laura Jones based her script, is a modern-day, feminist reworking of *King Lear*. But Goneril, Regan, Cordelia and Lear — let alone William Shakespeare — are very far indeed from this used kleenex of a women's picture, directed by Jocelyn (*How to Make an American Quilt*) Moorhouse.



Too gorgeous to be true, Michelle Pfeiffer seems lost without a good director.

I have not read Smiley's book and so cannot say if the problems here are native to the movie or if they derive from the novel. I'm afraid it doesn't matter. Moorhouse's *A Thousand Acres* reduces the thundering, tragic poetry of *Lear* to the whiny, hack-

neyed melodrama of a third-rate TV movie. Incest, adultery, terminal illness, alcoholism, infertility, bitter lawsuits, hard-core sibling rivalry, car accidents, bank closure, Alzheimer's — just as soon as the script has unleashed on the characters one of these

misfortunes, another comes crashing down. It's like the biblical Ten Plagues as reimagined by an overzealous soap-opera writer. And it seems a reasonable guess that even those viewers who have no idea that the picture is based on a book which is in turn based

on one of the greatest plays in the English language will find themselves put off. In addition to its excess of weighty "issues," the script is marred by its long-winded voice-over narration, spoken by Lange, which is both hard to follow and exceedingly goopy. Jones's screenplay also loses track of important characters for long stretches and no cause. The focus here is on the older daughters, the villains of Shakespeare's *Lear*, conceived by Smiley and the filmmakers as heroines, whose behavior must be understood in terms of the abuse they suffered at the hands of their tyrannical father. Even with this change of sympathetic emphasis, though, it makes little sense that Larry just disappears for the second half of the movie or that Caroline's character never amounts to more than a wan stick figure.

Moorhouse stages most scenes in a static, boxed-in way that sometimes verges on the logistically incomprehensible, and she instructs the performers to overreact grossly to every little threat. This hysterical quality seems an unfortunate gesture in Shakespeare's direction: where he might write an impassioned soliloquy or send *Lear* out to rage on the heath, Moorhouse and Jones have their characters shriek like guests on the *Ricki Lake Show* or get drunk and drive a pick-up truck into the creek.

The only reason to see this film is Lange's performance. While she looks, of course, far too glamorous for the role of an ordinary farm wife, she does at least manage to salvage a few moments through her usual fluttering sensitivity, and she brings an interesting, almost contemptible edge to the part of the obedient daughter, the perennial feather-smoother, the apologist, the denier. Pfeiffer, meanwhile, is at once pinched and slightly out of control. She carries herself awkwardly and sounds overcorrected, as if her down-home character had somehow found time, between church potlucks and laundry loads, to take elocution lessons. Also too gorgeous to be true, she seems lost without a good director.

One woman finds a horrific truth beneath Auschwitz

By BARRY DAVIS

The British Granada TV production *Owning Auschwitz* (Channel 1, tomorrow at 9:35 p.m.) presents an intimate angle to the Holocaust which few have seen before.

It is the story of 62-year-old Zipora Frank's personal odyssey to discover the truth behind the yellowed property deeds her late mother had kept locked away in a small suitcase. Born in Poland, Frank fled to Russia with her parents and brother in 1939. When they returned to Poland in 1946, Frank's mother reclaimed property that had been seized and hid the documents in her suitcase.

Frank says that her mother never told her about the family property in the Polish town of Chrzanow, near Cracow, consumed as she was with the guilt of surviving the Holocaust when so many had perished.

Frank's mother's guilt was exacerbated by the fact that her father, Frank's grandfather, had owned a tile factory which was expropriated by the Nazis and allegedly incorporated into the site on which the Auschwitz-Birkenau concentration camp was later constructed. This, above all, was what compelled Frank to return to her native Poland more than 50 years after she left it for a new home in Palestine — to finally discover the truth, however horrific. Had her family's land been used to kill Jews?

Frank's emotions oscillate. She voices utter despair as she watches young people staring impassively at the mountains of shoes, hair and suitcases left behind by those who had died in the camp. They weren't so depressed by it," she says incredulously.

Later she is buoyed by the discovery that she can reclaim much of her family's property: "I'm getting richer by the minute," she notes wryly. Frank recruits the help of a local lawyer to ascertain whether she is the unwilling heiress of part of a site where over one and a half million people — most of them Jews — were systematically exterminated. During her search through various land-registry offices and the Auschwitz Museum historian's room, Frank and the lawyer's young assistant Martin strike up an uneasy friendship.

One wonders what Martin thinks about the Israeli woman's determination to reclaim property she had not seen for over half a century. Eventually the issue of Polish antisemitism is broached by Frank and she asks Martin if he has told his family about her and what they think about it all.

The lawyer's assistant replies that many Poles are concerned that Jews from all over the world may return to evict them from their homes, which sounds logical enough.

But, Frank presses on relentlessly, citing the case of a Polish woman she'd met a few days before, who'd left Poland after the war to marry an Irishman and had also returned to reclaim her property.

Do the Poles feel the same way about her as they do about the returning Jews, wonders Frank.

Finally, Martin can no longer skirt around the issue. "Jews, everywhere, are regarded as rich," he says, adding warily: "and in many cases it's true."

In the end, Frank discovers the truth about the location of her grandfather's factory. Has it been worth it?

"My whole life revolved around this and, now that I know the truth, I am myself again," she says after placing some roses at a makeshift memorial at Auschwitz.

A clown who generates laughter and tears

By HELEN KAYE

Like all great clowns, Rami Baruch can look guileless and crafty, guilty and innocent, daffy and smart all at the same time.

A comedy starring him is virtually guaranteed to run practically forever. At the Cameri, where Baruch has been a company member since 1986, *The State Comptroller* is going into its sixth season and *Mr. Wolf* is going into its third.

Rehearsals have now started for *Matchmaking* by Gogol, in which he plays Podkolesin, a middle-aged bachelor who figures he might as well get married so he'll have something to do.

There's also a six-part TV series based on *State Comptroller* ready for screening, in which Baruch plays his most famous role, that of the supposed state comptroller, opposite the equally talented Yossi Graber.

Meanwhile, there's *The Leader*, a rhymed satire on the state of the nation by Yankele Jacobson that debuts at Tzavta Tel Aviv on Friday. It's a fable in which an ass replaces the lion as leader of the nation.

Baruch is the Fox, complete with pointed ears and a bushy tail, who narrates the story. He also plays Mrs. Jackal, a feisty Chicken Little-type hen, and a wonderfully creepy Spider, complete with four

legs, four arms and two pairs of fashionable shades.

He'd already told the Cameri "no more comedies for a while" but "Yankele is a friend of mine and he asked me to read it. I liked the play and the political statement it makes on a society which makes makes an ass its ruler."

No names or affiliations are mentioned in *The Leader*, but the inference is inescapable, and what it says, Baruch explains, "reflects my own internal scream, gives me the opportunity to cry aloud at the asininity that has taken over our lives."

"Our country has such potential, in every way, but we seem to be thinking with our butts. This spit and sealing-wax superficiality trips us all along the line."

Baruch is passionate about this country, and belongs to the peace camp, but "I'm not one for demonstrations." His arena is the stage.

The first professional production he was in, *Inn of the Spirits*, won first prize at the 1980 Acre Festival. He's won a lot more prizes since, most recently the Israel Theater Prize for Best Supporting Actor in *The Whore from Ohio*.

The stage was nearly not an option. He'd tried once, back in the early '70s, to attend the Beit Zvi Drama School in Ramat Gan, but it tossed him out after only three months.

"The stage doesn't like you," he was told.

RAMI Baruch, 43 years old, was born and raised in Haifa. He studied electronics in high school, where he was the class cut-up, and worked for while in the fertilizer factory where his father spent his entire working life.

"I come from the working class," he says, very seriously.

He tried Beit Zvi after performing with neighborhood drama groups who'd told him he had talent, that he belonged on the stage. After Beit Zvi exploded the dream in his face, "I didn't get out of bed for a month."

He decided to become a sober citizen again, and enrolled in a banking course at Bank Hapoalim, which decided he was management caliber. That future exploded too, the day he gave a customer NIS 20,000 instead of the NIS 8,000 due to him.

He got the money back after a frantic day of tracking the customer all through Tel Aviv, but, unsurprisingly, "the bank lengthened my probation, and I quit."

He worked in electronics again for a while, in alarm systems, but theater kept nagging at him, like a burr down his neck.

One day, listening to a program on Oscar Wilde, Baruch heard how Wilde submitted a screenplay 39 times before it was finally accept-

ed, "so I figured I had 38 rejections to go," and registered for political science and theater courses at Tel Aviv University.

"That story [on Wilde] still supports me," says Baruch. "And it's not been that easy, because the problem isn't to get accepted. It's how you go on."

"I'm torn between comedy and drama. Comedy is about virtuosity, like a juggler keeping a dozen balls in the air. You improvise, look for ways to capture the audience."

"A drama lets you dive in, reveal things you can reveal in no other way, because drama deals with the essence of living, another way of looking into yourself from the inside. When you move people to tears, it's more than making them laugh."

"My ideal is to make them laugh and cry at the same time and not know which to do first, to excite them so that they can't sleep but have to sit around and talk about the play."

BARUCH has fun on stage and the skill to make the audience his

accomplice. He's managed to avoid acquiring the mannerisms that plague too many local actors and in *The Leader* he gives full rein to his comedic talents.

Offstage he's been married for 11 years to actress Esti Koussevitzky, and the couple has two children, Hadar, 10, and Tamara, seven.

Right now they're renovating their home and Baruch is reaching out to reestablish once-close relationships with friends.

"There's the feeling now that we've made it," he says, "because when you're building your career, you really have no time for anything else. It's a lot of fun when you meet a childhood friend and that old link is still there, ready to go in new directions."

The future, he hopes, will include "roles that are more complex, more challenging. I want to do more of the classics, Ibsen and more Shakespeare, but not his comedies."

"Yes, I've thought of directing, but not beyond that. Acting still absorbs me because I've touched only the hem of its cloak."

'My partner is a computer'

By MICHAEL AJZENSTADT

When Benny Sluchin plays Luca Francesconi's *Animus* for solo trombone, his partner is a computer. And the sensation, he admits in a phone interview from his Paris home, is quite intriguing.

"Obviously I do not have a human partner with me on stage, but it is a partner which I must acknowledge and consider nonetheless. At times the computer allows me to play with sounds I just played a few seconds ago. There is a sort of a chamber-music element here because I am always aware of this partner, even if it is not a human one."

Sluchin left Israel to study in Paris several decades ago, when the renowned IRCAM center had just opened at the Pompidou Center. "The idea was to combine a scientific research center with a music ensemble, and ever since its inauguration, IRCAM has had enormous success with musicians, scholars and music lovers all over the world."

Now the Israel Contemporary Players' is presenting IRCAM

music in a special concert to open its season.

Sluchin joined the IRCAM ensemble upon its inauguration and has remained with the ensemble ever since. "We play to full houses — there is obviously an audience for this kind of music in France and our mostly French repertoire is very much appreciated."

"Obviously concerts of music by Schoenberg and Varese are more popular, but we have cultivated an audience for what we do and they always come."

There was a time, two decades ago, when electronic music was the "in" thing in the classical music world. "It was a time when composers were enthralled by the multitude of possibilities that this new form of music provided."

"However, you have to have music behind the electronics. For many years the possibilities were there but the music sometimes did not actually happen. Composers wrote music which was frozen and meant very little."

Sluchin argues that while a painting, for example, is a timeless work of art, music is different.

"You have to listen to music over

a period of time in order to comprehend it. If an audience is not willing to stay and listen to a new work time and again then it really can have no significance whatsoever."

And this is exactly why refined electronic music changed into a combination of live musicians with electronics, allowing a whole new set of possibilities to emerge. "Now I play with a computer, but the actual work is done by me. The work is totally live and the computer goes after me, not the other way around."

The Israel Contemporary Players' open their season of very late-20th-century music with an evening of mostly electro-acoustic music performed by IRCAM members.

The program features music by Luca Francesconi (*Animus* for solo trombone and live electronics), Tristan Murail (*L'Esprit des dunes* for ensemble and electronics), Michael (Le sate vidas de un gato for amplified ensemble) and Israel's Yosef Bardanashvili (the premiere of *I*).

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FROM THE REVIEWS:
"A wise and amusing play with a director and cast that transform it into a fascinating production. It is truly difficult to know who to praise more: Zvi Meir as the son, in the portrayal of today's youth; Alon Ofir as the British Officer, in a role that demands song and dance as well as a convincing performance in English; Chana Shoham as the husband, who is a credible and an idealistic lover and terrifyingly menacing; Shiri Golan as the young Michaela, a touching, naive rebel; Meirav Guber in the role of a fascinating figure of Iraqi comic relief with excellent timing and impressive dancing; Linor Goldstein is the play's core, whose beauty and talent capture the heart. Unfolding all this, there is still Yossi Yadin, an outstanding actor who moves one to tears in the person of the aged Shaul." (Ha'aretz - Michael Handelshtat)

"Edna Mazza displays a marvelous dimension of humor... The director Omri Nitzan created a gripping play... But the real treasure is the outstanding cast... (Ma'ariv - Eyalit Yaron)

"This is an outstanding play... A multi-media show that blends dialogue and theatrical performances with film clips, music segments and an abundance of directorial and cinematic techniques... All these create a rich and fascinating collage..." (Yediot Aharonot - Shosh Weitz)

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OPINION

Inexcusable

AARON LERNER

When Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu presented the Hebron Agreement almost two years ago, he justified his concessions by stressing the Note for the Record which came with the deal, arguing that for the first time Palestinian obligations were firmly set within the context of reciprocity.

Palestinian Authority Chairman Yasser Arafat failed to honor his part of the deal after Israel pulled out of most of Hebron, and Netanyahu, under the principle of reciprocity, eventually decided to stop carrying out further withdrawals.

What's new in the Wye Memorandum is that Netanyahu has forfeited Israel's right to independently determine that the Palestinians aren't keeping their end of the bargain.

The deal includes several other major concessions regarding, among other things, the PA forces in Jerusalem, the third redeployment, and the amending of the Palestinian Covenant. The document makes no reference to prohibiting PA activity in Jerusalem. Is this a sign of things to come?

Until now, the third redeployment was supposed to be determined by Israel. Now Israel has conceded that a joint Israeli-Palestinian committee will "address this question" with the US "briefed regularly" (Paragraph 1.B.).

Until now, Israel insisted that the Palestinian National Council have a formal meeting and vote by a two-thirds majority to amend the Covenant - as required by the Covenant itself. Instead Netanyahu has agreed to a meeting of "the members of the PNC, as well as the members of the Central Council, the Council, and the Palestinian Heads of Ministries (Paragraph 1.C.2.)."

While the membership certainly overlaps, the point remains that the meeting is deliberately not defined as a meeting of the PNC. The meeting is not going to approve an amended Covenant but rather to "reaffirm its support" for the Arafat-Clinton letter which lists sections of the Covenant which will be either amended or deleted in the future.

The puzzle to me is why Netanyahu is turning a significant Israeli concession - dropping the demand that the Covenant actually be amended - into a joint

Palestinian-American concession with an expensive ceremony attended by Clinton himself.

If the purpose of the undertaking was, as Industry and Trade Minister Natan Sharansky put it, to have the cancellation of the Covenant become common knowledge, Netanyahu would have been better off dropping the demand in return for a Palestinian public relations campaign announcing the cancellation.

The Palestinians would have "owed" Israel for the deal. The meaningless session in Gaza is a debit on the Israeli side of the ledger.

This is bad enough. Even if Israel could miraculously, overnight, build the bypass roads and other infrastructure required to insure security after the third redeployment (sources tell me construction will take many months), there is a fundamental flaw with the deal: Netanyahu has agreed to make the Clinton administration both cop and judge.

Israel won't even see the PA's plan to combat terror (Paragraph 11.A.1b.) and it is up to the US to monitor implementation of the plan (Paragraph 11.A.1c.).

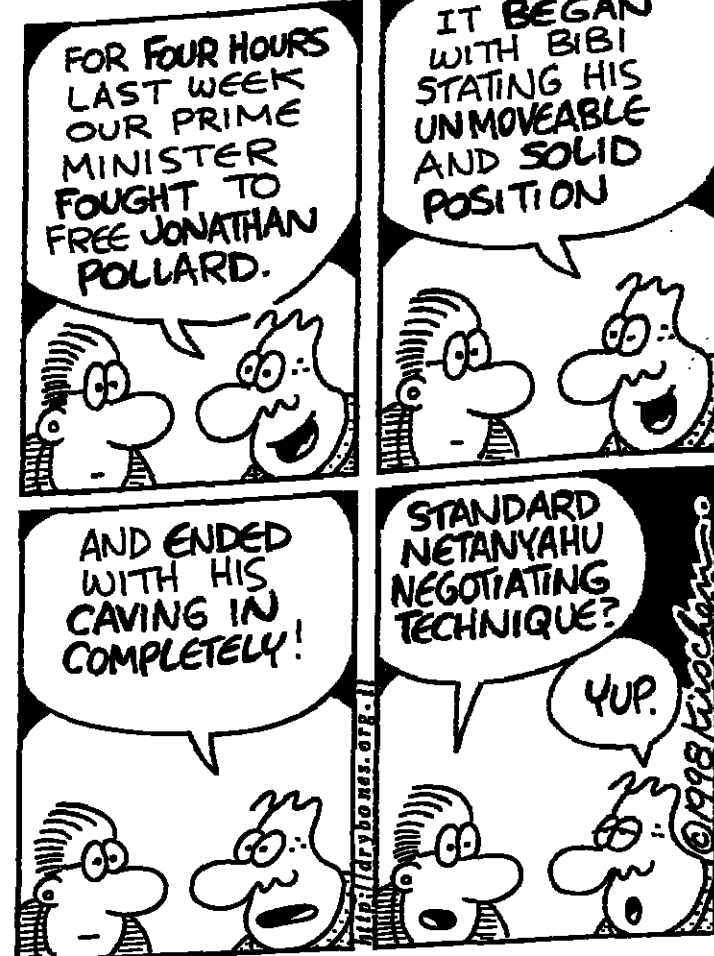
FOR THE PAST five years the American authorities have been blind to Palestinian violations. And for most of the time they had a reason, since flagging Palestinian noncompliance would mean having to cut off US financial assistance to the PA.

There is no reason to expect this situation to change, with further Israeli withdrawals expected in the balance.

News reports claim that the PA will reduce its forces from 40,000 to 20,000 but there are no numbers in the deal. In fact, the Wye Memorandum does not say that there is any problem now with the size of the PA security forces, only that "the Palestinian side will provide a list of its policemen to the Israeli side in conformity with the prior agreements" (Paragraph 11.C.1a.).

The same goes for illegal weapons, with the only mention of PA arms in Secretary of State Madeleine Albright's side letter which says that American "assistance to the Palestinian side will help ensure that any

Dry Bones



retention of weapons is consistent" with the list of weapons in the Interim Agreement.

It is important to note that this deal requires a major change in the CIA's role. Until now, when direct communications between Israel and the PA broke down, the CIA served to insure that the PA followed through on Israeli intelligence leads and picked up specific suspects at specified locations. What we are talking about now is an inspection role more akin to the botch job being done in Iraq - a failure not because the inspection team can't do the job but because of the desire of the Clinton administration to avoid discovering Iraqi violations.

It could have and should have been different. Netanyahu should have insisted that before the Wye negotiations, that the CIA and PA take a "starting inventory" of PA forces and weapons which would serve as a basis for corrective measures in the very first week of the third redeployment - before Israeli forces even start to roll back.

This would have put the onus on the PA and America. If the CIA numbers presented at Wye were

close to Israeli intelligence estimates, there would at least be some hope that it took its observer role seriously and negotiations could continue.

But Netanyahu didn't do that. Instead he has placed compliance monitoring in the hands of an administration which has shown time and again that it has more important concerns - like continued Israeli withdrawals - than Palestinian compliance.

Two weeks into the second redeployment, the PA's Area A will more than triple in size from 3% to 10.1%. And in return for this the only solid Palestinian action will be a meaningless vote by the PLO executive committee reaffirming Arafat's letter to Clinton. Everything else will be subject to American interpretation.

Such incompetence could at least have been understood if we were back in 1993, before the Clinton team put on its blinders. But today, after the prime minister's own office has issued reams of reports proving time and again the Clinton team's "hear no evil, see no evil" approach toward Arafat, such a concession is inexcusable.

Striking students

Children do not learn from what parents say, as parents sometimes wishfully believe, but from what parents do. The same can be said about striking university students, who have learned from other sectors of society that the only way to get your way is through strikes and confrontations with the police. Successive governments have taught this lesson over and over again by giving in to strikers, a practice that ups the ante by closing intersections and forcing police intervention.

The result of this student strike will be no different: the government will capitulate to at least some student demands, demonstrating that the tactics the government condemns most are also the most effective. Someday, somehow, this vicious cycle must be broken. It is disappointing that another generation is being educated to employ such tactics, regardless of the justice of the students' demands.

Giving in to student demands is problematic - not just from the standpoint of rewarding tactics that should not be rewarded, but also because the students admit to breaking an agreement to which they were a party. In 1996, a commission headed by retired Supreme Court justice Ya'acov Maltz, appointed by then education minister Amnon Rubinstein and including student leaders, agreed to freeze tuition levels until 2001. The Maltz commission also delayed the repayment of student loans until two years after graduation, and extended the repayment period from two to three years.

Now the students reject this agreement, as do in effect the many Knesset members who support their cause. Even Education Minister Yitzhak Levy has called for the appointment of a new committee to reexamine tuition levels. Today's lesson: Not only is there no penalty for breaking agreements, but it is possible to do so with the support of MKs and cabinet ministers.

Part of the difficulty in teaching a different lesson now, however, is that the students are making some valid points: There is nothing wrong, in principle, for students to bear some of the burdens that have moved them to protest: hold jobs while studying, partially rely on parents for financial support, and take out loans to pay for their studies. But there is a question of degree - it is not reasonable to expect students

to work almost full-time while studying, or to repay loans on near-commercial terms.

Israeli students, it should be remembered, tend to be older, more mature, and potentially more serious about their studies than their counterparts abroad, since most begin their studies after years of army service. Though education must be regarded in universal terms, the country particularly owes an affordable and serious university education to those who dedicated critical years of their lives to defending it.

To their credit, the students have been remarkably restrained in not raising at this time the gross discrimination between yeshiva and university students, whereby the former study for free and receive a stipend, while the latter must pay tuition and rising living expenses. This contrast is made even more glaring by military exemption for yeshiva students, while university students typically must juggle reserve duty with their studies, even after their regular army service. Even though the students exhibited political astuteness in not raising these glaring disparities so as not to antagonize certain allies in the Knesset and the government, this issue should be addressed before it becomes an even greater source of tension. There is no reason why the government should financially discriminate between religious and secular students.

Regarding the students' demands, the Australian system, in which university education is financed by long-term, low-interest loans, is worth exploring. Student loans are the sensible and fair way to finance university education, because they allow students to study without excessive financial burdens, without removing the students' responsibility to contribute substantially to their own education.

Israel should not allow itself to become a country where many young people avoid or drop out of universities because of financial considerations. A subsidized, long-term loan program could be expensive, but not as expensive as the cost to society of insufficiently investing in its human infrastructure. The government and the students are both to blame for the fact that the dispute has escalated this far, and might go further: both should sit down and restructure the financing of higher education so it is affordable to both students and the nation.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

CHURCH CONTROL

Sir, - I write in response to your recent article alleging Palestinian Authority attempts to control several churches including our own. I have served as Greek Catholic Patriarchal Vicar in Jerusalem for 23 years. Never in this time have we been under the control of either Palestinian or Jewish secular authorities. I am doing my utmost to serve my people with joy and love. We have schools, clinics, charitable societies, housing associations and our Eastern Churches Center to keep up. We are deeply linked to the daily life of our community with all our problems and hopes, but we are under the control of no one but proper ecclesial authority.

I am disappointed that such reports, containing no evidence of what they allege, and written without consultation with us, who know the truth of the matter, put the churches under a "political" light as if under suspicion.

Our work and methods are quite other, as anyone can see who wishes to. Our churches are open to all, including many Jewish visitors, and we do our best to maintain excellent relations with the secular governments, as the relevant offices know. This is part of our pastoral endeavor.

It is not the PA but the authorities behind this report, and others like it in the past that have called us "anti-Israeli," who are the true source of pressure, who try to exert control and to interfere in the life of the churches. It is those who restrict the movement of our clergy and people in their own country, and who disable us in many

other ways, who ought to be under suspicion.

It would be fair, if a government has something against the churches, to tell us directly and to send us the texts of their reports for comment, and not to spread stories in newspapers, especially when, as in this case, they know the truth to be other. They would find us always ready to conduct relations freely and openly.

ARCHBISHOP LUTFI LAHAM
Patriarchal Vicar for Jerusalem,
Jerusalem.

STAY FRESH

Sir, - Although it's in style to be a self-basher, to have a hang-dog look and apologize every second for every comment we make, I think sometimes it's taken too far. I am referring to Jonathan Rosenberg's column "Coming Clean at Yom Kippur" (September 25). There are many of us who enjoy his column. He often gives an insight into what goes on in the mind of the religious or haredi individual. He is professional in his writing, picks topics of interest and is truly thought-provoking.

So why the need to be contrite? Why apologize? "Coming Clean at Yom Kippur" should be done in synagogue during his prayers, but not in public.

I, for one, enjoy his column and do hope that his editor appreciates his fresh style as I'm sure many do.

JUDY ABIR

Jerusalem.

MEANING OF FATAH

Sir, - For many non-Muslims, the word "Al Fatah" (the name of Yasser Arafat's group) means a secular, progressive, national liberation movement.

According to the authoritative Arab dictionary *Lisan Al-Arab*, the word means "conquering of non-Muslim land by Muslims," or *Jihad*.

In Moslem law, land which was once controlled by Muslims and then by non-Muslims is in the category of *Dar Al-Harb* (the sword) and must be brought back under Moslem rule. Lands already under Moslem rule are considered *Dar Al-Salaam* (peace). Israel is no exception. How then will there be peace?

DR. MOSHE DANN
Jerusalem.

BRING BACK GEULA EVEN

Sir, - I hereby appeal to the directors and manager of Channel 1 to please bring back Geula Even to the prime position of broadcasting the news on *Mabat*.

I miss her radiant face and friendly demeanor. I miss her intelligent and knowledgeable approach and delivery.

This is not to distract from the formidable presence and experience of Chaim Yavin, who will always remain "Mr. Television." But the time has come for a change.

I wish them both good luck.

DAVID SEGAL
Ramat Hasharon.

FROM OUR ARCHIVES

65 years ago: On October 26, 1933, *The Palestine Post* reported that the government had banned the proposed Arab anti-immigration and anti-land sales demonstration, planned for Jaffa.

A new, restrictive Immigration Ordinance warned travelers that they would no longer be permitted to stay in Palestine for longer than three months without special permission and for 12 months under any circumstances. The holders of a transit visa might not remain in Palestine longer than 60 hours.

50 years ago: On October 26, 1948, *The Palestine Post* reported that the UN Chief of Staff, General N.C. Riley, had told Egypt that the Israeli advance and the subsequent withdrawal of Egyptian forces from the Negev was the result of their failure to comply with the cease-fire's "rules" on the passage of convoys.

Kauki's forces in Galilee withdrew to the truce lines and accepted the cease-fire.

25 years ago: On October 26,

1973, *The Palestine Post* reported that US forces were put on a worldwide alert by what Secretary of State Henry Kissinger called a precaution prompted by a possible Soviet intention to police a Middle East cease-fire.

Egypt was stunned by the extent of the Israeli advance into its territory and the plight of the surrounded Third Egyptian Army. The Security Council voted to send a UN emergency force to the area.

Alexander Zvielli

Peace vs. normalization

YOSEF GOELL

warmer, more hopeful peace. When it comes to our relations with the Jordanian leadership, from King Hussein, his brother Crown Prince Hassan and on down, that is undoubtedly true, and should be welcomed.

One cannot forget King Hussein's profoundly human response to the killing of Israeli girls at Naharayim by a Jordanian soldier last year. The goodwill Israel has shown in ceding water resources to Jordan should also be emphasized. While Israeli largesse with the most valuable commodity in our arid region has not solved Jordan's water shortage, it has gone a long way toward preventing that problem from getting entirely out of hand.

LAST FEBRUARY, however, I cited a Jordan University survey which found that, three years after the peace treaty, 80 percent of the Jordanian population continues to view Israel as an enemy. If one assumes that the entire Jordanian population of Palestinian origin - the majority - shares that view, it also means that so do half of the non-Palestinians.

This shows the real risks King Hussein has been willing to take in his determined commitment to peace with Israel. It is indicative

that Israel was wise enough never to demand from Hussein what we and the Americans are demanding from Arafat: tackling head-on the Hamas and its terrorist infrastructure in the territories under their respective control.

What it also underscores is that despite the best efforts of world and national leaders and diplomats, no one knows how to turn hostile populations - and their cultural and religious elites - away from their enmity and towards friendship (look to the Balkans, the Caucasus, South Africa and countless other examples.)

What we have with Jordan is far from a full peace, but it is much better than the de facto peace we had with King Hussein and his supporters since 1967, when he made the mistake of joining Egypt and Syria in going to war against us.

It also highlights the risks Israel is taking in the sorry but seemingly inescapable event of the king's demise in the not too distant future.

When that happens, a ferocious civil war will break out in Jordan over the succession. This is a regrettable prospect that Israel must prepare for, in order to ensure that viciously anti-Israel radical Palestinian elements, who will constitute the bulk of those

rising up against an orderly succession, do not prevail.

This means, first and foremost, that Israel must use the threat of a military intervention to forestall a Syrian invasion of Jordan at such a time, as happened in 1971. One can assume that US pressure will prevent Egyptian military intervention in such a civil war. But it may also mean the need for covert or even overt Israeli military intervention in such a war to ensure that those ruling Jordan after Hussein do not return to membership in a hostile, anti-Israel alliance, with Syria, Iraq and a quasi-sovereign Palestine.

It also means making absolutely sure in our continued negotiations with the Palestinian Authority that whatever further territorial concessions Israel makes do not permit any contiguity across the Jordan and Dead Sea between a Palestine and Jordan, across which an Arafatian Palestine could aid Palestinian rebels in Jordan.

Welcome to Israel's true "integration" into a pretty bloody Middle East.

That said, the optimistic side of the coin of our relations with Jordan is that the warmth of that relationship with the existing Jordanian leadership can constitute a foundation for slowly building better relations between our two populations. *Insh'allah*.

סדרה של ראיונות

Blueprint

Filling In Peace's Details Is the Painful Part

By ETHAN BRONNER

THE images were arresting. There they were, Ariel Sharon, who once sent the Israeli military to Beirut for Yasser Arafat's head, and Benjamin Netanyahu, who long avoided shaking the man's hand, sitting together in Maryland agreeing with the Palestinian leader on land and airports and prisoner releases.

It is often said that the weakness of the 1993 Israeli-Palestinian peace accord worked out in Oslo, Norway, was that it was embraced by only half of Israel, the secular liberals of European origin, and had never been sold to religious Israelis, the poor and those of Middle Eastern origin.

Now, three years after an Orthodox, Yeminite Israeli student sought to end the peace deal by assassinating Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, here were the representatives of that other Israel coming to terms with the reality that Oslo had created.

Yes, they were making it hard with their near walkouts and last-minute demands. But that was the way toward real peace: you relinquish holy land with a tear in your eye and an ache in your gut, not with the detachment of the previous Government. Here were negotiators who understood the fears as well as the hopes of their people, who could build an agreement that might survive those fears. Prime Minister Rabin, the messenger of peace, may have died, but his message has survived.

Perhaps. But the past five years — since Mr. Rabin and Mr. Arafat shook hands on the White House lawn — have offered sobering lessons on why optimism has rarely held sway in this process since.

In contrast to the intimate and personal Oslo negotiations, at the Wye Plantation it took the President of the United States and the King of Jordan days and nights of prodding to produce this next interim step. And its implementation is highly complex. Of course, details and implementation posed formidable barriers to peace from the start. What is different this time is that the Wye agreement comes in the context of difficult experience in making specific peace arrangements work.

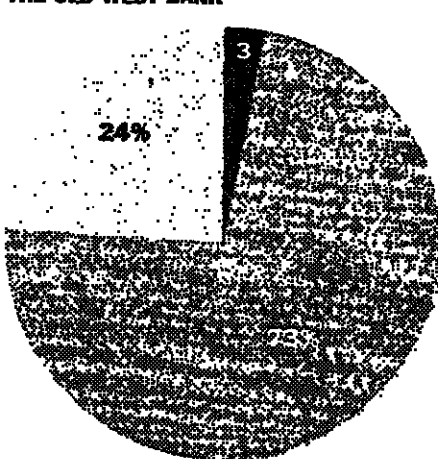
"Until Netanyahu's election more than two years ago, the message from the Government was that we have to begin a new life with the Palestinians: let's be neighbors," said Yoel Esterson, managing editor of the Israeli newspaper Haaretz. "But now there is no spirit of reconciliation. What we have is a deal among technocrats, a deal with no soul or spirit because there is so little good feeling left."

Shlomo Gazit, a former director of Israel's military intelligence, put it this way: "I am very doubtful that this is a new beginning. For the process to go on, there must be trust and understanding between the two sides and a joint will to move ahead to an overall agreement. What happened in recent months does not bring us any nearer to that."

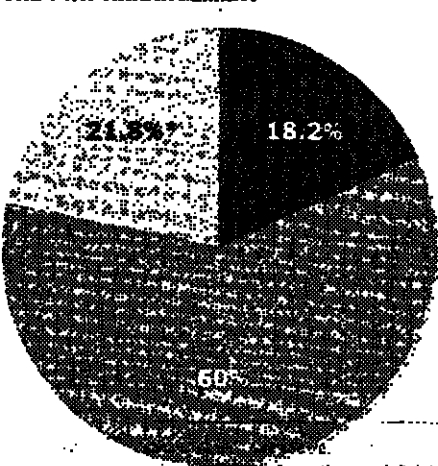
The West Bank Jigsaw

Words like "land" and "peace" seem simple enough to understand, but not in the Middle East. Land-for-peace is an intricate design, based on efforts to balance the competing needs and ambitions of Israelis and Palestinians. Below, the numbers. At right, the map before the Wye Plantation Agreement.

THE OLD WEST BANK



THE NEW ARRANGEMENT

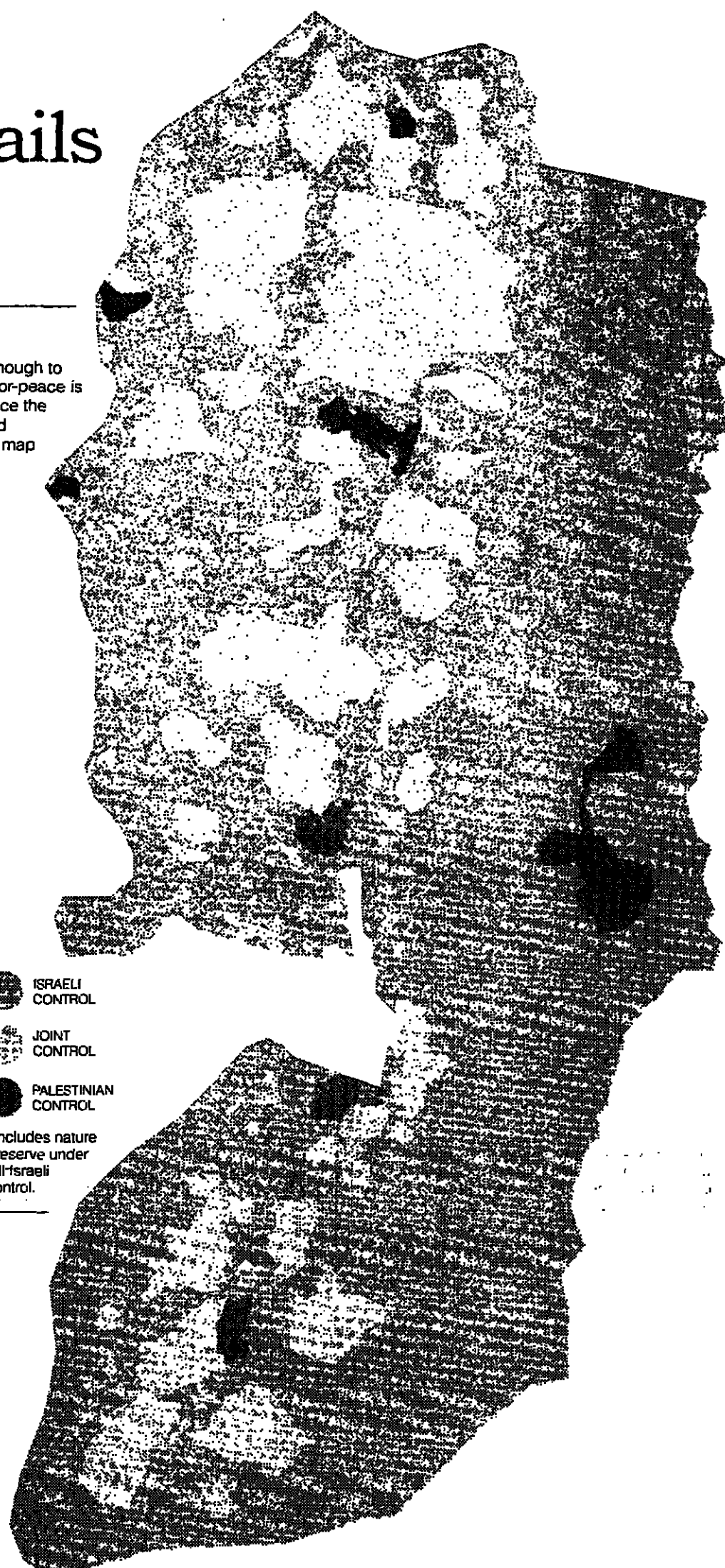


ISRAELI CONTROL
JOINT CONTROL
PALESTINIAN CONTROL
*Includes nature preserve under full-Israeli control.

One reason is that the Palestinians and Israelis agreed to make peace five years ago but never did much to alter the sense they had of each other. Schools on both sides have virtually no lessons in the other's history. Maps in Palestinian schools still show only the names of Palestinian villages destroyed by Israel, not the new Israeli cities. Israeli maps and textbooks make no reference to the destroyed Palestinian towns or to the life and culture of Palestinians before Zionist immigration in the late 19th century.

An official 8th-grade textbook from the Palestinian Authority was recently shown to include the sentence, "The prime examples

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From Nerd To Bully?
Gates's image
takes a beating,
but consumers
don't care — yet.

By John
Markoff

10



Dictator in the Dock
Chile wants its
demons back
home, safe.

By Tim Golden

11



That Man in Belgrade
Looking for
a few good
Serbs.

By Jane Perlez

12



Giving Outrage a Face

Breaking a Taboo, Editors Turn to Images of Death



Jean-Marc Bouju/Associated Press



A photograph of the morgue in Nairobi last August after the bombing of the American Embassy there posed questions of ethics and taste for editors. At left, The Los Angeles Times ran the full picture, but on page 14.

The New York Times, center, used part of it on the front page, leaving out the burned bodies. At right, The San Francisco Examiner blurred the image of a corpse; its editors said later they should not have done so.

By FELICITY BARRINGER

ONE spring afternoon in 1994, a University of Wyoming freshman was shot in the head at point-blank range and left to die. A day or two later, The Laramie Daily Boomerang shoved the event in the community's face, printing a front-page photograph of the young man's body as it lay near his dormitory. The figures of police officers partly blocked the view. But only partly.

"Writing a story about somebody

being gunned down in the busiest intersection of town in cold blood didn't have the same impact as seeing it," said Robert Wilson, the managing editor, whose daily newspaper has a circulation of about 8,000. "I wanted people to feel that horror. I particularly wanted young people to see that this isn't a movie we're playing here. This is real."

Outrage was what Mr. Wilson wanted. Outrage was what he got — directed not against the killers or the crime, but against the newspaper.

Increasingly, if inconsistently, images of the dead are finding their

way into print and onto television. There are corpses without shrouds, without the comfort of a soft focus. There are slack bodies, bloated bodies, frozen, frightened faces that make viewers turn away. "This is not something I wish to see alongside my breakfast," an angry reader wrote to The New York Times three weeks ago when the newspaper ran a photograph of a massacre victim in Kosovo, his face contorted.

In fits and starts, the reflexes that made graphic death a rarity in newspapers in the generation after the Vietnam War are being supplanted

by a willingness to use such images for their emotional impact.

Taking Sides

An uncomfortable fact for journalists is that their use has an editorial tone at odds with the buttoned-down objectivity of news columns. But images from Rwanda, Kosovo and Algeria have focused popular outrage. The larger the point to be made, the more willing editors have been to use visual horror to make that point.

That does not mean there has never been graphic death in newspapers.

In the first decades of the 20th century, pictures of dead mobsters and suicides filled the tabloids. But in the last two decades, along with the rise of graphic violence on television and in the movies, both the grittier tabloids and the more restrained broadsheets took a different approach. Instead of embracing all disturbing images, editors waited until a particularly visceral image captured a visceral moment.

"Bombing victims in Kosovo look the same as bombing victims 10 years ago in Iran," said Eric Meskauskas, photo editor of The Daily

News. "You wind up trying to look for something that has something else in it that makes it more powerful."

He added, "Since we've seen almost everything there is to see in this age, what photo editors are trying to do is make you feel something."

Some photographs have "outrage quality," said Michael Smith, a deputy picture editor at The New York Times.

"Take the baby in the Oklahoma City bombing," he said, speaking of the photograph by Charles H. Porter.

Continued on Page 10

Ideas & Trends

Top of the World. (For Now.)

By JOHN MARKOFF

WILL it matter to consumers that William H. Gates isn't a nice guy?

Until last week, most Americans thought of Mr. Gates, the chairman of the Microsoft Corporation, as a genius and innovator. A nerd perhaps — but also a self-styled visionary who almost single-handedly unlocked the power of the personal computer.

On Monday, however, in a Washington, D.C. courtroom, the Justice Department began painting a different, darker portrait of Mr. Gates. In an antitrust suit brought by the Department and 20 states, the man whose company commands a 97 percent share of the market for personal computer operating systems is being depicted as a Nixonian schemer who will go to almost any length to crush his competition.

Product innovation, the suit argues, is not a sufficient weapon for Mr. Gates. Flashing back and forth between snippets of Mr. Gates's videotaped deposition and E-mail messages he had sent that contradicted his testimony, the Government sought to establish a pattern of threats and offers of payments by the Microsoft chairman. It also sought to cast Mr. Gates as an obsessed man who feared the tiny Netscape Communications Corporation and its potential threat to his domination of the market for Internet browsers, the software used to navigate the World Wide Web.

Ruthless Tactics

Mr. Gates was portrayed by David Boies, a Justice Department litigator, as a schoolyard bully who rides roughshod over the computer industry with a crudeness that is in stark contrast to his popular image as a benevolent dictator and high-technology guru. According to a document presented by Mr. Boies, for example, Mr. Gates asked America Online executives in 1996: "How much do we need to pay you" to damage Netscape? "This is your lucky day."

The implication, Mr. Boies said, was that the amount was irrelevant, and that Microsoft, with its deep pockets and market dominance, makes as many "offers you can't refuse" as needed to achieve its goals.

Microsoft officials are closely watching market surveys for any hint that the new image of a bare-knuckled Mr. Gates might be detracting from the company's world-famous brand name, but they insist that the public will continue to draw a distinction between allegations of anticompetitive business tactics and the company's software.

"Despite what you're reading in the press, people judge us by our products," said Mitch Matthews, head of Microsoft's corporate public relations office. "Our experience is that people vote with their pocketbooks."

So far, consumers are casting positive votes. Last week Microsoft reported quarterly profits of \$1.52 billion, a stunning 58 per-

cent increase over the level a year earlier. Despite the record profits, though, there are some marketing experts who say that if the public comes to view Mr. Gates as a Rockefeller-style robber baron, his company and its brand name may suffer.

"When you have a company with such a visible chief executive, the c.e.o. is really the driver of the brand," said David Asker, a brand marketing expert at the Haas School of Business at the University of California at Berkeley. "There is no question this is going to affect Microsoft's brand recognition."

Warning Signs

Already there are early warning signals, as political cartoons in newspapers across the country bashed Mr. Gates last week. One showed him holding a globe and saying, "If you don't play my way, I'll take my ball and go home"; another portrayed the Microsoft chairman standing next to a henchman dangling someone from a window while a Microsoft secretary says to a caller, "I'm sorry, but Mr. Gates is busy teaching a competitor about Windows."

But some industry analysts believe the new view of a Bill Gates who knows how to play hardball may not be such a bad thing for his company. The he-said, she-said round of E-mail messages being dragged out in court cases both in Washington and in Silicon Valley, where Microsoft is locked in a legal battle with its archrival, Sun Microsystems Inc., is viewed by some as little different from the exaggerated trash talking that goes on in professional sports.

"It's like taking what Charles Barkley and Michael Jordan say to each other on the ball court" and turning it into something more sinister than it really is, said Paul Andrews, co-author with Stephen Manes of "Gates" (Doubleday, 1993).

Indeed, there is evidence that the darker view of Mr. Gates and his company has so far taken root only in the District of Columbia and in Silicon Valley, where the computer industry has long felt the impact of Mr. Gates's tactics, and where bitterness and distrust of Microsoft are deep.

In the rest of the country, Mr. Gates continues to enjoy great popularity. Two weeks ago, while speaking before a crowd of almost 7,000 students at Indiana University, a questioner who asked about the Justice Department's suit was roundly booed.



William H. Gates at the 1996 launch of MSNBC, the Microsoft-NBC cable venture.

Bill Gates, Whipping Boy

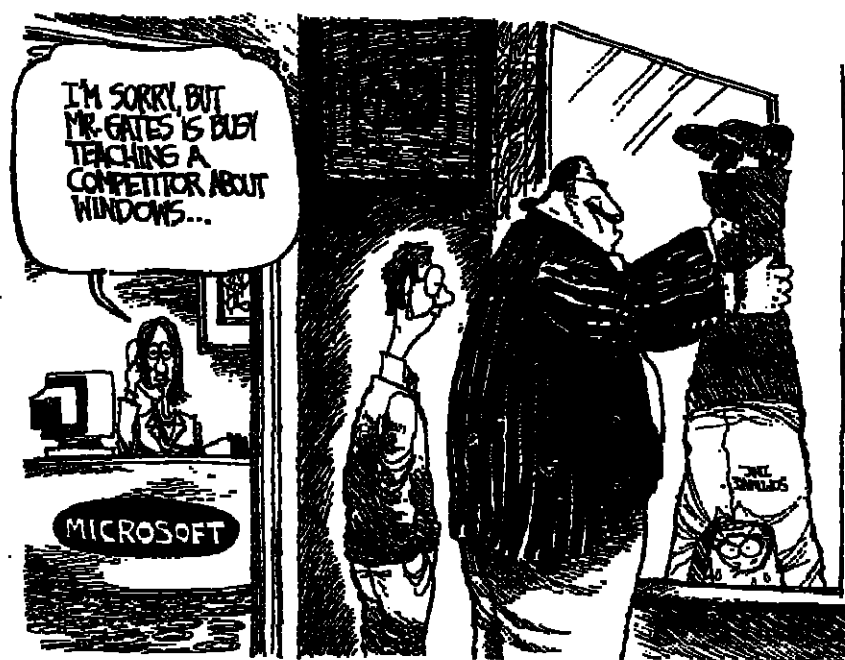
Is William H. Gates a high-tech Machiavelli, Public Enemy No. 1 or a threat to the known universe? All three, judging from the numerous political cartoons that popped up in newspapers across the country last week.

From Chattanooga to Boston, cartoonists took delight in demonizing Mr. Gates, who is facing an unexpected public relations challenge as Microsoft's antitrust trial unfolds in Washington.

Other cartoons ran the gamut from the

predictable (a worker, pointing to an aquarium in which a large fish is gobbling up smaller ones, saying to some visitors, "Welcome to Microsoft's research and development department") to the weird (a dweebish man hunched in front of a computer screen staring at the words: "Our beloved leader, Mr. Gates, is under attack. Leave your possessions. Go to the desert. Await the spaceship").

And that was just Week One of the trial. Stay tuned.



From top: Bruce Plante/The Chattanooga Times; Walt Handelman/The Times-Picayune, Tribune Media Services; Gary Markstein/The Milwaukee Journal Sentinel; Copley News Service

It's So Hard to Be No. 2

By JACQUES STEINBERG

AT a meeting at an Albany hotel recently, the Democratic nominee for Lieutenant Governor was introduced as Sandra Feldman, the longtime teachers' union leader. Never mind that the candidate's name is Sandra Frankel and that the speaker was none other than the chairwoman of the Democratic Party.

Ms. Frankel, a town supervisor from the Rochester area, had suffered such indignities before: in an earlier party press release she had been called Barbara. The gaffes were telling in a state where the second-ranking job in government involves little more than refereeing Senate debates and has become so marginalized that New York's current Lieutenant Governor, Betsy McCaughey Ross, hasn't had a substantive conversation with Gov. George E. Pataki in at least three years.

But their relationship is not typical. When it comes to questions of how seriously one should view the backup quarterbacks in the nation's state capitals, the answers often depend on the particular stadiums in which they are warming the bench. In some states, the No. 2 person actually has clout, and campaigns for the job are serious matters.

Tough Races

In Georgia, for example, where the Lieutenant Governor has broad authority to shape the legislative agenda, this year's race has been tough and personal. Ads for the Republican candidate, Mitch Skandalakis, imply that his Democratic opponent, Mark Taylor, has resumed a prior, admitted cocaine problem. Mr. Taylor responded with a lawsuit accusing his opponent of slander.

In Texas, where Gov. George W. Bush is expected to win re-election next month, attention has shifted to the Lieutenant Governor's race, in part because the winner would succeed Mr. Bush if he were to win the Presidency in 2000. Texas is among 18 states in which voters can choose a Governor and Lieutenant Governor of different parties, and often do. To head off such a situation, Mr. Bush's famous father has made a TV commercial on behalf of the Republican who would be his son's understudy.

"The job is what you make it," said Sherry Bebitch Jeffe, a political analyst at Claremont Graduate University in California, who was speaking of her home state but could have easily been citing many others.

"Nelson Rockefeller referred to the Vice Presidency as 'standby equipment,'" she added. "If you are the lieutenant governor and your governor is not of the same party, you're not even perceived as standby equipment. You're out there in orbit."

Gray Davis, California's Democratic Lieutenant Governor, has been in such an orbit for four years. Whenever Pete Wilson, the Republican Governor, leaves the state, Mr.



Sandra who?

Davis's office floods reporters' fax machines with press releases that begin, "Acting Governor and gubernatorial candidate Gray Davis..." Mr. Davis is now running to succeed Mr. Wilson.

But that pales in comparison to the friction two decades ago between former Gov. Jerry Brown, a Democrat, and Mike Curb, his Republican lieutenant. Once, Ms. Bebitch Jeffe recalled, Mr. Brown raced to get a flight back to California because Mr. Curb was trying to capitalize on the Governor's absence by appointing a conservative judge whom Mr. Brown opposed.

Some view the lieutenant's job as a steppingstone. After a 16-year career as Georgia's Lieutenant Governor, Zell Miller was elected Governor in 1990. Bob Finch, the first Lieutenant Governor in California under Ronald Reagan, was appointed Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare by President Richard M. Nixon. And Mario M. Cuomo, elected New York's Lieutenant Governor in 1978, was elected Governor in the next three elections.

But others have gone the route of Malcolm Wilson, who waited in the wings behind Mr. Rockefeller for 15 years and became Governor in 1973, when Mr. Rockefeller was appointed Vice President. Mr. Wilson was defeated next year by Hugh L. Carey. Still, he was Governor for long enough to leave a legacy, of sorts: The Tappan Zee Bridge was renamed the Gov. Malcolm Wilson Tappan Zee Bridge in 1993. Some of his successors in the No. 2 spot have found fame more fleeting.

Fading Away

Having found little to occupy his time during the Cuomo administration, Alfred B. DelBello resigned the Lieutenant Governor's post in 1985 to take a position with a waste management firm in New Hampshire.

And then there's Mary Anne Krupsak, Mr. Carey's lieutenant. She failed to unseat him in the 1978 Democratic primary and never again held elected office. She now runs a chamber of commerce for the counties in the Finger Lakes area and is the co-owner of Pasta Only's, a restaurant in Geneva, N.Y.

Images of Death

Continued from Page 9

IV, an amateur, showing a firefighter cradling the dead body of one-year-old Baylee Almon. "Yeah, people agonized over it because it was a baby. Nobody wants to put a baby in the paper. But it so symbolized the loss of innocence, the fact that we were as vulnerable to terrorism as anyone else."

Editors who chose to run photographs of charred corpses in a Nairobi morgue after this summer's embassy bombing, or the face of an old Albanian man killed in a Kosovo massacre, made the same argument. At a panel discussion at the Newseum in New York recently, Mr. Meskauskas said, "I think you have to use it because it tells you something about terrorism and what the people were feeling like."

The visible dead tend to have two things in common. For one, they have usually died at human hands. With the exception of the youth whose ash-covered body was photographed from the air after the explosion at Mount St. Helen's in 1980, dead victims of natural disasters, as well as victims of airplane crashes, tend not to be shown in the news media. As a senior photo editor described it, without a moral lesson to be drawn, there is no point in showing corpses.

Death Far Away

"When you look at a war," said Vincent J. Alabino, the executive photo editor of The Associated Press, "one image can somehow define a story and crystallize your feelings some way or another, and can force you to decide on a point of view you might take. That's different from looking at a hurricane picture."

A second factor common to many images of the dead in newspapers is their distance from readers. While no generalization is foolproof, it is safe to say that the farther away the dead person is, physically or psychologically, the more likely that the image will find its way into print. "I don't think people really want to look at highly disturbing photographs, and the closer to home, the more disturbing the images," said Gail Buckland, a photo historian and an associate professor at Cooper Union.

"Dead bodies in Africa are more tolerated," she added.

Others, like Mr. Meskauskas, have a simpler explanation: Crime scenes in the West are tightly controlled. None of the editors interviewed had seen images of the bodies of James Byrd Jr., the black man dragged to death in Jasper, Texas, last summer, or Matthew Shepard, the gay college student tied to a fence, beaten and left to die two weeks ago in Laramie, Wyoming.

No Faces, Please

The rollicking, anything-goes photojournalism of the 1920's and 1930's changed during World War II, according to John G. Morris, a former photographer and picture editor for Life magazine. "The rule was: We can show enemy dead but not our own people. Especially faces."

"The first big breakthrough occurred in 1943," added Mr. Morris, who was also picture editor at The New York Times in the 1960's and 1970's. "Life ran a photo from Buna Beach in New Guinea. That picture was held up in censorship in Washington for about eight months before it was released. It showed two or three American bodies face down in the sand."

Censorship was eased during the Vietnam War, but returned during the Persian Gulf war; The Detroit Free Press's photographer, David Turnley, had to argue and cajole the military censors to approve a photograph of a soldier crying next to a body bag.

But censorship had little role to play in 1993 during the ill-fated American military involvement in Somalia. The Toronto Star's image of a dead American serviceman dragged through the street by mobs went around the world. "We ran the poor American soldier who was dragged through the streets in Mogadishu," said Michele Stephenson, the director of photography for Time magazine. "We felt we needed to do that to show what was going on there."

Despite his decision to put the corpse of a murdered college student before his readers, Mr. Wilson, of The Laramie Daily Boomerang, would not quickly do it again. Even had photos of Mr. Shepard tied to the fence existed, he said, the cruelty of the crime was such that "I don't think I or anyone else could have faced a photograph of it."

The World

Europe's Back, And It's Worried

By EDMUND L. ANDREWS

AN odd thing happened last week: A former Communist became Prime Minister of Italy for the first time in history, yet the Italian lira didn't drop in value amid fears of left-wing economic policies.

The seemingly benign reaction stems in part from the reality of Italian politics; the new Government under Massimo D'Alema is a hodgepodge of people from across the political spectrum.

But it was also a telling sign about the peculiar condition of Europe on the eve of its greatest experiment in the postwar era. Just 10 weeks before 11 European countries adopt the euro as a common currency on Jan. 1, eventually replacing marks, francs and lira, Europe has suddenly become the world's bastion of economic safety.

Far from being alarmed about the changes and uncertainties ahead, traders have seized upon European currencies — including the lira — as their preferred safe haven from the turmoil rocking Asia, Russia and now even the United States. European currencies have soared about 10 percent against the dollar since August.

In principle, that is testimony to Europe's soundness. But in practice it is creating a baptism of fire for the euro and its overseer, the new European Central Bank.

That became clear last week. The debate now raging across the continent is whether the euro will be a bit too credible and too strong, meaning that European goods will become too expensive for customers with other currencies. Precisely when the new central bank is most preoccupied with proving its political independence, politicians across Europe are badgering it for a weaker euro and lower interest rates to stimulate borrowing and investment.

The chorus got substantially louder last week, after the European Commission reduced its prediction for economic growth next year from 3.2 to 2.6 percent.

Pressure

In Germany, where the Social Democrats defeated Chancellor Helmut Kohl in elections last month, the incoming Chancellor, Gerhard Schröder, and his Finance Minister stepped up calls for lower interest rates and even suggested a return to some form of fixed exchange rates in world markets. In France, the Socialist Prime Minister, Lionel Jospin, made similar calls. And at the European Commission, officials are talking about softening the tough fiscal requirements that

it set to bring the economies of the 11 countries in line with each other and thus insure the euro's credibility.

Europe's new central bankers are getting even more pressure from the United States. With the Federal Reserve cutting interest rates in a sign of its own anxiety about the economy, the European Central Bank is suddenly the odd man out as the world's most hawkish supporter of hard money.

Reform Fatigue

Underlying all this is a more basic question about Europe's condition. Even though economists have recently begun slashing growth projections for next year, most still predict that Europe under the euro — thanks in part to trade efficiencies produced by the use of one currency rather than many — will grow faster than the United States for the first time in many years.

But as the rest of the world looks bleaker and bleaker, the question boils down to this: Is Europe an "island of stability," as many European leaders have argued? Or is it just the last domino to fall in a worldwide slump? Naturally, there aren't many clear signs. But there are trends worth noting.

Perhaps the most positive and least appreciated change is the dramatic improvement in the competitiveness of European manufacturing. Here in Germany, makers of cars and machinery have learned to produce far more with far fewer people. They have also redesigned their products, rethought the way they do business and cut innovative deals with labor unions to win more flexibility in the workplace.

Other developments are less encouraging. With the exception of countries like the Netherlands, continental Europe continues to be weighed down by high taxes, costly social programs and very high labor costs.

On top of that, there are clear signs of what might be called "reform fatigue." Having endured years of budget cuts to satisfy fiscal requirements for the euro, voters have ushered in left-leaning governments inclined to shore up social programs.

Mr. Schröder, who campaigned as a "new" and vaguely pro-business Social Democrat, has infuriated German industry by charting a return to left-wing priorities. His new coalition, which includes the environmentalist Green Party for the first time, has pledged to reverse the few labor reforms Mr. Kohl succeeded in pushing through. More important, it has drafted a tax plan with little reduction in the overall tax burden — which consumes about half of Germany's total output — and shifts much of it to business. It has also given tacit support to big wage demands by Germany's giant metalworking union.



Investors are high on Europe even with its uncertainties: an aerial view of a giant euro symbol reproduced on a field in France.

The collapse of Italy's centrist Government under Romano Prodi was an even more vivid sign of reform fatigue. Mr. Prodi lost his parliamentary majority after the Reformed Communist Party rebelled over his plans for a budget cut.

The Communists tried the same thing last year, but they failed because Italians wanted to reduce their budget deficit enough to qualify for the euro. But all that changed last May, when Italy made the grade and the pressure for austerity eased.

Given all that, why are the currency markets so sanguine? The answer is that politicians do not control the new central bank. And the bank's president, Wim Duisenberg from the Netherlands, is almost typecast for the role of the gruff banker who doesn't let politicians push him around.

A big man with piercing blue eyes and a shock of white hair, Mr. Duisenberg has thus far refused to budge on his policies and has perfected a curmudgeonly scowl that projects wonderfully over television.

"The European Central Bank already has credibility in financial markets, and you can see that from what has been happening," said Bernhard Speyer, a senior economist at Deutsche Bank Research. But the task ahead is not easy: a bit too tough and Mr. Duisenberg could precipitate a real decline in Europe; a bit too easy and the euro's strength could be undermined for years.

"What we face in 8 to 10 weeks from now is a major regime shift, and in a situation like that there are always things that can go wrong," said Mr. Speyer. "You don't want to take any chances."

Chicken Little! Shut Up!

WASHINGTON

MAYBE it was just a false dawn — there have been plenty of those.

But as the Dow Jones industrial average rose, the final touches were put on a \$30 billion package to prop up Brazil, and Japan committed a half a trillion dollars to save its banks, there was hope last week that the worst of the global financial upheaval might be passing.

The case for optimism goes like this: Investors may be realizing that their panicky race for the exits, into Treasury bonds and anything else that seems secure, was as much an overreaction as their rush into the world's emerging markets in the mid-1990's was a triumph of blind optimism.

After all, the interest-rate cuts pulled off by the Federal Reserve in recent weeks show that someone is paying attention. Interest rates in Thailand and South Korea have fallen to 7 percent, evidence that their economies may finally get going. Sure, Indonesia has turned into a lawless land, with mobs burning out the shops of ethnic Chinese merchants and chopping off the heads of suspected sorcerers, but its currency, the rupiah, is making a surprising comeback.

Even the Commerce Department's announcement last week of a mammoth August trade deficit for the United States, \$16.77 billion, was greeted by the markets as good news: America remains the last big-time consumer on the globe, the numbers showed, and projections that the 1999 trade deficit could hit \$300 billion for the year suggests the United States will keep consuming. In other words, even as America's growth slows, it may pull Asia and Japan out of recession.

Of course, there were plenty of optimists around in the spring, declaring that the sky had stopped falling. That was just before Russia defaulted on its debts and backtracked on its commitments to economic reform. And it was when Japan's troubles still seemed limited to \$600 billion in bad bank loans, instead of more than \$1 trillion.

"It took a long time for these problems to develop, and it will take a long time for the world to work through them," Treasury Secretary Robert E. Rubin cautioned last week. Meanwhile, his aides are explaining what fundamentally good shape Brazil is in, which must explain why it is about to become the fifth country to receive a multi-billion rescue package in the past year.

DAVID E. SANGER

Pinochet in the Dock

Arresting a Dictator Is One Thing. Then It Gets Tough.

By TIM GOLDEN

NOT so many years ago, it would have been impossible to find Genaro Arriagada on the side of Chile's former military dictator, Gen. Augusto Pinochet.

As a prominent academic in the years after General Pinochet took power in 1973, Mr. Arriagada churned out critical studies of the military and its rule. When General Pinochet finally agreed to submit his regime to a popular vote in 1988, Mr. Arriagada organized the coalition that campaigned successfully for his defeat.

But as street demonstrations in Chile began to turn violent late last week, following the 82-year-old General's arrest in London on Oct. 16 on human rights charges filed by a Spanish judge, Mr. Arriagada argued bitterly against the prosecution. And though he has just taken over as Chile's new Ambassador to Washington, his reasons, it seemed, have more to do with his own views than with his Government's arguments that General Pinochet should be protected by diplomatic immunity, or released on humanitarian grounds.

"Part of the achievement of our transition back to democracy has been to take all of the demons of this history and put them into some kind of closet," Mr. Arriagada said in an interview. "This case brings them all back out again. What right does some Spanish judge have to do that?"

Within hours of General Pinochet's arrest, a parade of law professors was pointing out that a strong basis for his prosecution has been established over the past decade in international law. The threat of what are often called universal crimes, so grotesquely demonstrated in Africa and the Balkans, has prompted many states, especially in Western Europe, to codify in their national laws the jurisdiction that international conventions have offered since the aftermath of World War II.

But Mr. Arriagada and others maintain that unlike the recent prosecutions of accused war criminals from Bosnia and Rwanda, the success of human-rights lawyers targeting General Pinochet will almost certainly come at the expense of the uneasy political compromise by which Chile achieved a measure of reconciliation and peace.

Beyond that argument, moreover, lie serious practical difficulties in mounting a legally compelling case against figures like General Pinochet — particularly at a distance of several thousand miles.



A Spanish girl stood amid posters of Gen. Augusto Pinochet during a rally last week in support of the former Chilean leader's arrest.

When the investigating judge, Baltasar Garçon, prevailed on Scotland Yard to arrest the General on charges of murder, genocide and terrorism relating both to 94 Spanish citizens and others among the more than 3,000 people believed to have been killed during General Pinochet's reign, he overcame only the first obstacle to prosecution. Now, Mr. Garçon must persuade Spain's right-of-center Government to formalize his request for the general's extradition. Then he must convince the British Home Secretary, Jack Straw, to grant the extradition. Then Judge Garçon will almost certainly need some help from the Government of Chile to build a successful criminal case.

"We may be seeing an increasing readiness by governments to enforce these inter-

national human-rights laws," said Theodor Meron, a professor of international law at New York University. "But when you open up the code book and try to prosecute, you find that you have to deal with a lot of bread-and-butter criminal statutes to get there."

Reaching Across Borders

The lawyers, judges and activists seeking justice for human-rights crimes are not the only ones running into such challenges. Since the end of the cold war, countries like France, Britain and the United States have tried to extend the reach of their laws across borders to combat crimes like terrorism and drug trafficking. Although these efforts have had a more solid legal foundation than the human-rights cases, they have run constant-

ly into questions of sovereignty and jurisdiction.

Officials in Switzerland were reminded of such difficulties last week when they announced the seizure of \$114 million that was hidden in European banks by Raúl Salinas de Gortari, the elder brother of Mexico's former President.

To some American law-enforcement officials, the Swiss detectives had done heroic work: They had started out with virtually no experience in Mexico's narcotics underworld, and faced considerable resistance from some officials in Mexico and the United States. Still, they managed to use a legal-assistance treaty to pry open American jails. There they found informants who, in several cases, had apparently been ignored or mis-

who said they had witnessed Mr. Salinas taking huge bribes from drug traffickers to arrange for the protection of their loads.

Not surprisingly, many Mexican officials viewed the conclusions of the Swiss investigation differently. They acknowledged that Swiss detectives might have developed enough evidence to keep the money; if Mr. Salinas's lawyers challenge the seizure in court, as they have promised to do, the Swiss Government will only have to argue a civil rather than a criminal case — one with a considerably lower standard of proof than what would be required to convict General Pinochet. Nonetheless, the Swiss investigators were hit immediately by a barrage of procedural and jurisdictional questions from Mexican officials.

A Generous Deal

As United States Customs agents learned last May when they set off a diplomatic confrontation by disclosing that they operated under cover in Mexico to trap bankers accused of laundering drug money, it is hard to overestimate how quickly concerns about sovereignty can outweigh those of criminal justice when one country sees another acting unilaterally on its soil or in its affairs.

Echoing Chilean nationalists, Margaret Thatcher, the former British Prime Minister, offered such an argument on behalf of her old friend General Pinochet last week. "The people of Chile, through successively elected democratic Governments, have determined how they should come to terms with their past," she wrote to The Times of London. "An essential part of that process has been the settlement of the status of General Pinochet and it is not for Spain, Britain or any other country to interfere in what is an internal matter for Chile."

At nearly a decade's remove, the deal that centrist politicians like Mr. Arriagada reluctantly cut with General Pinochet strikes many Chileans as too generous, even accounting for the relative prosperity and political stability that the country has enjoyed since. Others, including some of the General's critics, argue that however unsatisfying Chile's solution might have been, the strength of its example can be seen in similar accommodations with military rulers and repressive regimes from Central America to South Africa.

"If these transitions to democracy were just about trials, we could leave them to the judges," Mr. Arriagada said. "But these transitions are about achieving a great number of goals, including political goals, economic goals — and also human rights goals."

The World

Unstacking Milosevic's Deck

By JANE PERLEZ

SLOBODAN MILOSEVIC, Serbia's strongman, knows the playbook well.

His first big performance was in Bosnia; his second has just been completed in the Serbian province of Kosovo.

The plot goes like this: As a divided West looks the other way, create a crisis. Pursue your ends a little too harshly by destroying a few too many villages, permitting one too many massacres. Finally you catch Washington's attention. Then in a grand gesture grant some concessions — like allowing monitors on the ground in Kosovo and NATO surveillance planes above.

The climax: You are elevated to the position of indispensable keeper of the peace; American and NATO officials come to consult and sometimes to scold. It all serves to pump you up in the eyes of your own people, to whom you present yourself as their champion and protector against hostile outsiders, namely the West, with which you have just done a deal. As a result, you are guaranteed more years in power as their autocratic ruler.

In moments of candor, American and European diplomats describe Mr. Milosevic's behavior in the last eight months in Kosovo in this neat sequence. They know, they say, that by offering some face-saving concessions to NATO — which despite its bravado has been reluctant to carry out the air strikes that it continues to threaten — Mr. Milosevic has outfoxed the West once again. The Yugoslav President was allowed to make a mess in Kosovo over the summer when the West was on vacation and when there was concern that getting tough with him might disturb elections in Bosnia.

The Bill

In the aftermath — 250,000 refugees, burnt villages and irrevocably ruined relations between ethnic Albanians and Serbs in Kosovo — the United States is left with the cleanup. Washington will foot a big portion of the bill for an expected 2,000 international monitors, and for much of the aid for refugees. Some put the total price at \$500 million — a lot for an underdeveloped, rural province about the size of Connecticut.

There are many reasons, of course, beyond the crises he creates that make Mr. Milosevic the man to deal with in Belgrade. For

more than a decade, he has been the master manipulator of Serbian politics, and his political machine remains in firm control of the state-run press and broadcast media. Whatever horror officials in Washington express about his appeals to crude nationalism, it is depressingly clear that he has a lot of material to work with when he stirs ethnic passions: a distrustful culture built on long-held sagas of martyrdom. But to the West, Mr. Milosevic goes out of his way to present himself as less extreme than some others. To prove the point, he has chosen as his coalition partner Vojislav Seselj, who is even more of a nationalist and who has led a charge against "traitors" in the independent media and universities.

Still, does the West really have to play Mr. Milosevic's game? Is it time to think about whether — and how — he could be displaced as Serbia's leader? These questions are being increasingly raised in the aftermath of the Kosovo agreement.

Some in the West want alternatives to dealing with this Serb.

"There needs to be a policy review that emphasizes ways of getting rid of Milosevic," said David L. Phillips, the executive director of the International Conflict Resolution Program at Columbia University and who visited Kosovo last month. "To have to go back to Belgrade while Milosevic holds court is no longer tenable."

Mr. Phillips says the United States can shape its policies so that Mr. Milosevic is weakened, not strengthened, and he maintains that one of the weakest chinks in Mr. Milosevic's armor is the existence of a United Nations war crimes tribunal in The Hague. "It is time for Louise Arbour to make a move against Milosevic and other Yugoslav officials," said Mr. Phillips, referring to the tribunal's chief prosecutor. "At this juncture there should be plenty of evidence and eyewitnesses to crimes against humanity by forces under the control of Mr. Milosevic."

Many pro-Western Serbs in Belgrade who oppose the Milosevic regime, like Srdobran Brankovic, a leading Serbian pollster, agree that the possibility of prosecution at The

Hague could be turned to the West's advantage as it struggles to contain Mr. Milosevic's ambitions. He said a major motivation for Mr. Milosevic's agreement to sign the Dayton agreement on Bosnia three years ago was his calculation that, as a guarantor of the peace, he would not be made a target of the tribunal.

Playing to Fear

"I think he has an abnormal fear of the tribunal," the Serbian pollster said. "People in his circle said that when it was first mentioned that he might be tried in The Hague, that he was in a panic."

Mr. Milosevic's popularity at home is not quite what it is advertised abroad. His personal approval rating in Serbia has slid from a high of 40 percent in the early 1990's to 20 percent today.

Mr. Brankovic and other pro-Western Serbs say they are not persuaded by the argument that the only alternative to Mr. Milosevic is Mr. Seselj, who enjoys about a 16 percent approval rating. There are, he says, substantial independent voices of moderation that need to be encouraged in Serbia's universities, in its independent media, in its trade unions and among its few struggling entrepreneurs — even in the army.

Mr. Milosevic, who relies on the Interior Ministry's well-paid police force to protect him and to repress opponents, is not well liked in the Yugoslav Army; it is underpaid and has lost all the battles that he sent it into in the last eight years. This feeling was surprisingly evident in remarks last week by the army's chief of staff, Gen. Momcilo Perisic, who rose through the ranks during the glory days of Marshal Tito.

"Many leadership members have subjected everything to their own interests," General Perisic said in what seemed a veiled reference to Mr. Milosevic. "The Serbs have been at war since 1991 and we still don't have an ally. We were never this isolated and we were never without allies."

How to capitalize on these signs of dissatisfaction is the challenge.

In many quarters in the West, the notion of lightening the financial and investment sanctions that have been placed on Serbia is heresy, a sign of caving in to Mr. Milosevic. But educated Serbs who would like to see Mr. Milosevic disappear argue that the sanctions actually play into his hands by allowing him to argue that the wicked West is responsible for a catastrophic drop in living standards. The sanctions also encourage a pirate econ-



Slobodan Milosevic visited a calmer Kosovo in 1997. He has since lost approval in polls.

omy in which a tight circle of Milosevic cronies get all the spoils. And barriers to international travel fall especially hard on Western-oriented Serbs, rather than on Mr. Milosevic's rural supporters.

But given the West's pattern of letting Mr. Milosevic play out his hand, there is not much optimism among educated Serbs in Belgrade that the game will change very soon. They note the three-year time frame for the interim political status of Kosovo agreed to in the negotiations with the United States. "He will say I'm the guarantor of the peace and security in the region, and the West will say 'yes,'" said Mr. Brankovic.

Some diplomats in the Western embassies

here are more cynically optimistic, however. They point out that instead of operating on a land-for-peace concept, Mr. Milosevic operates on a land-for-power principle. Thus, he gave up his fight for Slovenia, then Croatia, then Bosnia, but retained power as leader of a truncated Yugoslavia dominated by Serbia. In time, given the realities in Kosovo, where the majority ethnic Albanians are struggling for independence, he will also lose Kosovo, these diplomats say. Montenegro could follow, if Mr. Milosevic chooses to provoke a crisis there. At that rate, Mr. Milosevic is likely one day to wind up king of a suburb of Belgrade, still in power but of no relevance to the United States.

Painful Details

Continued from Page 9

of racial discrimination are Zionism and Nazism." Last August, Palestinian television was showing footage of a summer camp with youngsters training with automatic weapons and chanting, "I foresee my death and I rush toward it!" and, "A hero's death, the death of a suicide warrior!"

Mr. Esteron of Haaretz said that even the largely liberal, educated Israeli readers of his newspaper seem unmoved by the difficulties that Palestinians suffer as a result of Israeli rules and regulations — checkpoints, bans on home building, severe restrictions on trade, industry and movement.

"People look at it as if it were somewhere in the Philippines, not right next door," he said.

Each side has tended to consider the Oslo accord a kind of apology from the other, an acknowledgment that it had done wrong. But

Now for the hard part: putting the details in place.

each side sees only the other's misdeeds, not its own.

And the problem that has overwhelmed all others is the enormous imbalance — military, geopolitical and economic — between Israel and the Palestinians. For many Palestinians, Israel is a neighborhood outpost of the American-dominated global economy.

Since the new global system has little place in it for land, clan and honor, values upon which Palestinian society has long been built, and can be so unforgiving to those not part of it, Israel is seen as a threat in the most fundamental way to the values of many in the West Bank and Gaza. To many there, Israel stands for sexual permissiveness and godlessness, and so the battle against it goes beyond a fight over land and sovereignty.

The issue is, of course, still more complicated. A battle over values exists within Israel itself, where a religious-secular divide threatens internal politics. Mr. Rabin's assassin, Yigal Amir, like many Sephardi and religious Israelis, felt that peace was draining the nation of its biblical mission and spirit.

Now, with Mr. Netanyahu and Mr. Sharon the advocates of peace, the opponents of peace within Isra-

el may feel more and more marginalized. But that does not necessarily mean Israelis will see Palestinians in a more generous light. Israelis feel that what they are giving up is not fully appreciated — as Mr. Netanyahu has said, 1 percent of the West Bank is the size of Tel Aviv. But even if the end of this process includes something that bears the name "State of Palestine," many doubt it will end the century-old Jewish-Arab conflict.

"This deal does not change the basic rules of the game," asserted Meron Benvenisti, a former deputy mayor of Jerusalem and advocate of greater Israeli concessions. "Let's say the Palestinians get even 50 percent of the West Bank."

"Think about water resources, land development, sewage. Israelis use five times the water of Palestinians. What happens when the Palestinians want more? Where will it come from?"

"The Israelis will say: 'We gave all we could. No more. The rest is ours.' So what the Palestinians will get is exactly what the Israelis can live with, peace without any real price. That's why they don't care if there is a Palestinian state. That's why even Sharon and Netanyahu can accept a state, because of the way they will define it."

Ali Jarbawi, a Palestinian political scientist at Bir Zeit University in the West Bank, was equally pessimistic. "I think that for Netanyahu this week's deal is the end of the track altogether," he said. "He won't give up much more land. And what kind of state will we get? There will be cantons with no direct links. It is a gloomy prospect for us."

Daniel Ben-Simon, a political analyst for Haaretz, said he believes the new accord will reshape Israeli politics because the issue that has defined left and right for so long — territorial concession and a Palestinian state — will no longer be there.

In addition, he says that because of the Palestinian question, other Israeli problems, like the religious and ethnic divides, have festered. Now they can be dealt with and that process will produce a new set of parties and coalitions.

But General Gazit is far less hopeful. He believes that Mr. Sharon and Mr. Netanyahu have no long-term vision for the Palestinian question.

"There is huge writing on the wall," he said. "It shows us that without a comprehensive agreement with our neighbors we are doomed ultimately to war. I think the politicians see it. But they don't have the courage to act on it."

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ECONOMY

DIARY

As Markets Rally,
Pace of Deals Revives

After a hard frost in the markets, an Indian summer of corporate finance: With the Dow well back up in the 8,000's again, big deals suddenly are as ubiquitous as pumpkins.

Last week, Clorox agreed to buy First Brands and Newell agreed to merge with Rubbermaid (all consumer products makers). Kroger made a deal to acquire Fred Meyer (grocery chains), Kaufman & Broad Home agreed to buy Lewis Homes (home builders), and Deutsche Bank was looking for a high-profile American investment bank to acquire. Conoco, the once-independent oil giant being spun off from DuPont, raised a record \$4.4 billion from enthusiastic investors who hadn't seen a sizable initial public offering in more than a month.

But not every deal basks in the warm sun: Wall Street couldn't see the logic in the plan by McKesson, the nation's largest drug wholesaler, to buy HBO & Company, a medical software company, and hammered McKesson's stock. ... Proposed new accounting rules would greatly restrict favorable "pooling of interest" treatment for mergers.

Some Good News, Some Bad
From Soft Energy Prices

The continuing effects of cheap oil on the economy are being thrown into sharp relief by the latest wave of earnings reports. Nearly all the big airlines posted robust earnings last week (Northwest, with its strike, and TWA, with its familiar host of problems, were the exceptions), while nearly all the big oil companies reported steeply falling profits.

Over all, the nation's per capita appetite for energy has swollen back up to where it was before the oil shocks of the 1970's; in real terms, today's oil prices are lower than 1973's. In spite of cheaper oil imports, though, the nation's trade deficit has widened sharply in recent months, largely because of weak demand for American exports in recessionary Asia.

Paying for Dirty Diesels,
Searching for Cleaner Fuel

The seven largest makers of heavy diesel engines, accused by the Environmental Protection Agency of cheating on emissions tests for a decade, settled the case by agreeing to pay a total of \$1 billion, fix old engines as they are overhauled and design new engines that meet tighter standards. Caterpillar and Cummins Engine will pay the most in the settlement. ... Hunting for ways to keep their ever-larger light trucks in compliance with Federal emissions and fuel economy standards, the Big Three auto makers are looking at equipping them with more efficient diesel engines and have quietly begun working with oil companies to develop a new synthetic diesel-like fuel that they hope will burn as cleanly as gasoline. ... An obscure clause in the new Federal spending law allows truck and bus fleet operators to satisfy Government requirements that part of their fleets run on alternative energy sources by burning "biodiesel" fuel made with soy oil in ordinary engines, saving the cost of buying new vehicles.

The information technology industry did very well in the scramble to pass a Federal budget: The final version contained provisions the industry sought on copyrights, Internet taxes and liability, securities law, research tax credits and year-2000 cooperation. ... Goldman Sachs named 57 new partners, who will share in the spoils when and if Goldman's postponed initial public offering is completed. The firm's vice chairman, longest-serving partner and biggest shareholder, Roy J. Zuckerberg, decided not to wait any longer for the offering before retiring, forgoing a possible payout of \$200 million or more. ... The quarter's sour turn in the markets yielded losses or disappointing earnings at Bankers Trust, Nomura Securities and the newly merged Citigroup.

SO TO SPEAK

Oh, Is That All?

Starting this month, the Securities and Exchange Commission is requiring that stock and bond prospectuses and other disclosure documents be written in plain English. To help their members master so alien a tongue, the American Bar Association and the American Society of Corporate Secretaries have sponsored workshops and distributed a plain-language handbook from the S.E.C.

The tips and suggestions in the handbook are helpful, of course, but the before-and-after examples are a revelation. Consider this passage from a bond prospectus of Baltimore Gas and Electric, and the handbook's suggested rewrite:

BEFORE "Each Note will bear interest from its date of issue at the fixed rate per annum or at the rate per annum determined pursuant to the interest rate formula, stated therein and in the applicable Pricing Supplement, until the principal thereof is paid or made available for payment."

AFTER "The interest rate on the notes will either be fixed or floating."

Good thing for the lawyers that they're not paid by the word.

Heard a real head-scratcher lately? Send your choicest examples of impenetrable jargon, egregious euphemisms or wild hyperbole to So to Speak, Money & Business, The New York Times, 229 West 43d Street, New York, N.Y. 10036, or send them by E-mail to sunbiz@nytimes.com.

سكنا من الراحل

For Japanese Tourists, It's First Stop Las Vegas

Casino City Becomes Primary Destination of Cost-Conscious Visitors

By EDWIN McDOWELL

WHERE have all the Japanese tourists gone? To Las Vegas.

Because of Japan's continuing economic woes and the weakness of the yen, the numbers of Japanese visitors to California and Hawaii, where they have been a mainstay of the tourism industry, are falling sharply. And so is the amount they spend, amplifying a trend that began in earnest four years ago. Even Orlando, Fla., has seen declines in guests from Japan at its theme-park attractions.

But not Las Vegas, Nev. The number of Japanese tourists staying there has doubled since 1994 and rose 29 percent just last year, to 403,000. That was a year when overall visits to Las Vegas rose just 2.8 percent. Japanese guests at the gambling oasis now outnumber those from any other country outside North America.

The trend breaks a decades-old pattern of Japanese tourism in the United States, and will likely accelerate now that two airlines, Northwest and Japan Airlines, have introduced regularly scheduled nonstop flights to Las Vegas from Tokyo's Narita airport. Los Angeles, meanwhile, is now getting 10 fewer nonstop flights from Tokyo a week.

The golden triangle for the Japanese used to be Los Angeles, San Francisco and Las Vegas, said Frank Murakami, general manager of the Los Angeles office of the Japan Travel Bureau, Japan's biggest tour operator. "Now," he said, "it's Las Vegas, Disneyland and Universal Studios," with short side trips to those attractions replacing extended touring or long stays in California.

It all couldn't have come at a better time for a city trying to reposition itself as an entertainment stop. Tourists still flock to Las Vegas — 30.5 million visitors last year spent almost \$60 billion. But officials worry about depending so heavily on gambling when forecasts say that by 2001 some 90 percent of Americans will live within 200 miles of legal casino-style gambling.

Moreover, occupancy in the city's 106,000 hotel and motel rooms dipped last year to its lowest since 1992, and a wave of new capacity is coming on the market: The 3,025-room Bellagio opened on Oct. 15, and five new hotels with an additional 16,000 rooms will be completed next year.

Japanese tourists are prized because, while representing only 11 percent of all visitors to the United States in 1996, the latest year for which figures are available, they are the largest group from overseas and spent \$19.3 billion, 21 percent of the total. That compares with \$9 billion by British visitors, the No. 2 overseas group, and \$6.3 billion by Germans, No. 3.

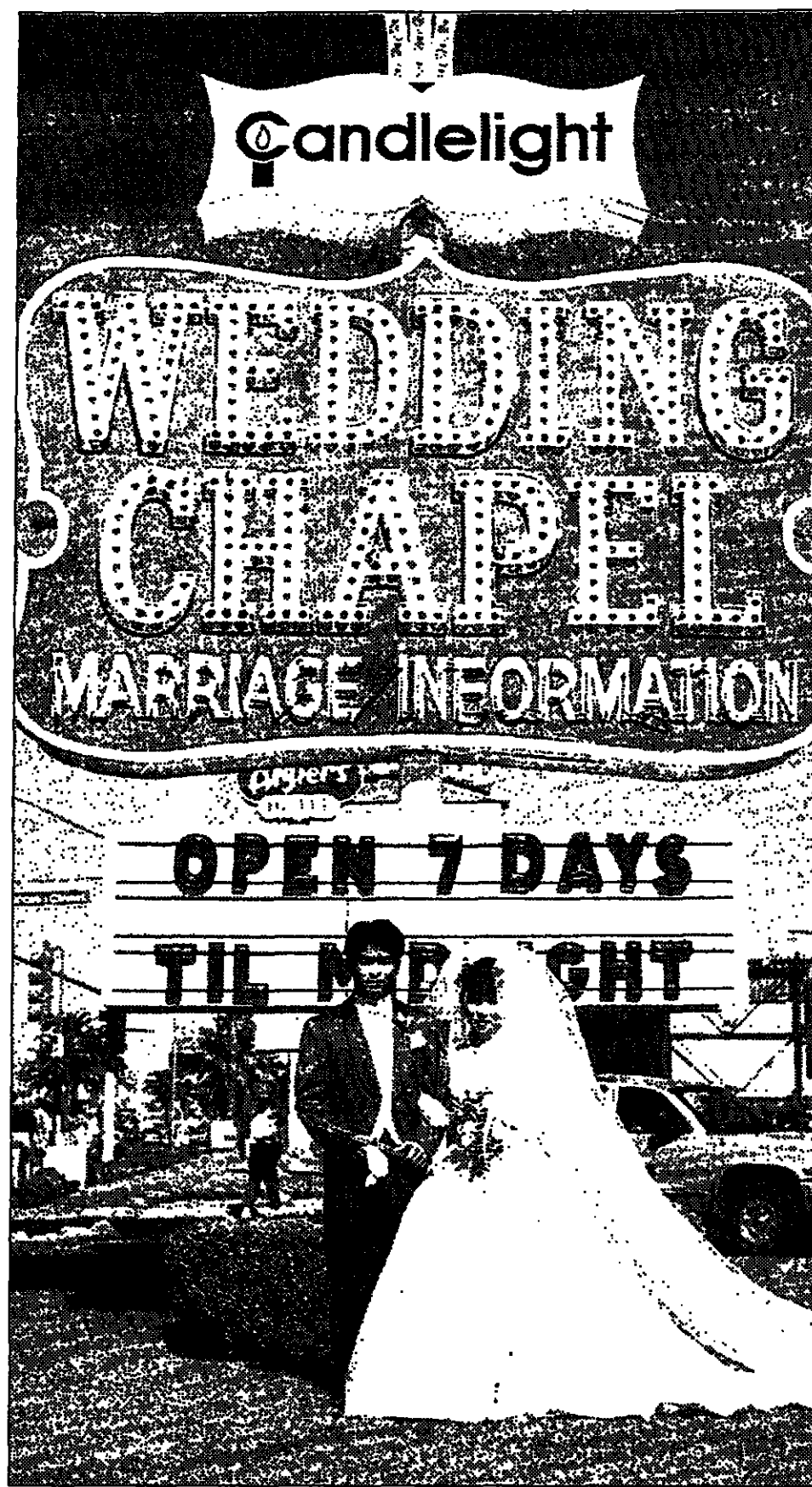
And Japanese visitors achieved their spending levels in average stays of only eight nights, compared with 16 and 17.3 for British and German tourists, respectively. Japanese visitors to Las Vegas stay 3.3 days on average, and the Commerce Department says they spend an average \$192 a day in the United States.

These days, though, Japanese tourists are not quite as free-spending as before. They tend to stay in less-expensive hotels, shop in outlet malls and gamble less.

"Baccarat is down about 20 percent in Las Vegas this year," said Jim Murren, chief financial officer of the MGM Grand Hotel and Casino, referring to the card game perhaps most closely associated with Asian gamblers.

If casino action is not the main attraction, why is Las Vegas luring so many more Japanese tourists — as many as 15 percent more this year, according to Carlos Tello, head of the Las Vegas office of the Japan Travel Bureau?

One draw, perhaps oddly for a place with such a wide-open reputation, is safety. Always more security-conscious than most tourists, Japanese visitors regard compact Las Vegas as far less risky than sprawling Honolulu, where rising crime against Japanese tourists evoked a letter of protest from the Japanese Consul General to the Mayor of Honolulu, or Los Angeles, where rioting



Las Vegas is the vacation bargain spot for Japanese tourists, including many couples who find that a wedding in Nevada can be less expensive than it would be at home.

after the Rodney King verdict in 1992 virtually halted Japanese tourism for months.

But the principal attraction of Las Vegas, according to Japanese and Las Vegas tour officials, is cost. The city's average room rate, \$73, is less than half that at comparable hotels in Hawaii, Los Angeles and San Francisco. Entertainment, food and golf in Las Vegas are all inexpensive by American standards, and dirt-cheap compared with those of Japan.

These disparities have not gone unnoticed by young single Japanese working women, who often travel in pairs or groups — though often on smaller budgets these days.

Yuka Saito, 25, a cosmetics saleswoman from Chiba, Japan, and her hometown travel partner, Megumu Uchida, a 26-year-old architect, wasted little time recently visiting the Fashion Outlet of Las Vegas, where they stocked up on tennis shoes, clothing, sportswear and gifts.

Later in the evening, they said through a translator, they would be off to see the

Radio City Rockettes at the Flamingo Hilton, and planned to ride the roller coaster at the New York-New York Hotel and pack in as many other activities as they could in their weeklong first visit to the United States. The women were staying in a mid-priced hotel far from the luxury hotels on the Strip that Japanese tourists favored when times were good.

Bargain prices also help explain why several thousand Japanese couples a year marry or renew their vows in Las Vegas. "For less than half the cost of a traditional wedding in Japan," the Las Vegas Convention and Visitors Authority says, "the entire wedding party can travel abroad for this important family ritual."

A few weeks ago, about 40 Japanese family members and friends attended a wedding in the city's Candlelight Wedding Chapel, which performs as many as 1,000 Japanese weddings and renewal of vows a year.

An average \$500 ceremony includes flowers, photographs, a videotape, a two-tier

More Japanese tourists are
visiting Las Vegas ...

'94	227,000
'95	236,000
'96	311,000
'97	403,000

... And make up a bigger
share of the city's visitors ...

'94	0.8%
'95	0.8
'96	1.1
'97	1.3

... While other destinations
see fewer Japanese visitors ...

Increase or decrease in Japanese tourists visiting annually, figures are for the latest year available compared with the previous year. 1998 figures are projections.

Orlando, Fla. ('97)	-13.1
Los Angeles ('98)	-10.7
San Francisco ('97)	-4.8
Hawaii ('98)	-4.0
Las Vegas ('97)	+29.9

Sources: Las Vegas Convention and Visitors Authority, CTR Research; San Francisco Convention and Visitors Bureau; Hawaii Visitors and Convention Bureau; Orlando Chamber of Commerce and Visitors Bureau.

The New York Times

wedding cake and an organist playing "Here Comes the Bride." "They don't want Japanese music, and I've never seen a bride in a kimono," said Brandon Reed, general manager of the chapel.

Some Japanese newlyweds, of course, come to honeymoon rather than tie the knot. Aota and Mayumi Mokoto married in Amori prefecture before flying to Las Vegas on their first visit to the United States.

"We were very much touched by what we saw," Mr. Mokoto said through the interpreter for Eagle Scenic Airlines, which had just flown the couple on a four-hour sightseeing tour to the Grand Canyon. Some 250,000 Japanese tourists fly from Las Vegas to the canyon each year on tours that range from a few hours to overnight and cost \$200 to \$400 a person.

Many Japanese visitors also ride charter buses from Las Vegas to see the Grand Canyon, Bryce Canyon and Monument Valley in the nearby deserts of Arizona and Utah. "A third of our business is Japanese, and this year business is even better than last year," said Michelle Michalewicz, general manager of Western Leisure, a tour company based in Salt Lake City.

Los Angeles, meanwhile, is hiding its time. "In the long term, L.A. will play an even bigger role in Japanese vacation plans," said Bob Moore, an executive with the Los Angeles Convention and Visitors Bureau, "because here we have a mix of theme parks, sports, food, culture and so much else that Japanese tourists like."

For his part, Mr. Tello of the Japan Travel Bureau in Las Vegas says he has no doubt that Japanese tourists will return to Los Angeles in big numbers: "That's because we'll soon be selling package tours to Los Angeles from here."

ECONOMIC VIEW

STEVE LOHR

Even Amid a High-Tech Revolution, Evolution Is the Norm

THE New Economy is on trial here along with the Microsoft Corporation.

Sure, the company is the one in the dock. But the outcome of the case against Microsoft will establish the ground rules for how the doctrine of antitrust will apply to high-technology fields like computer software. And the software industry is seen as being at the forefront of new patterns of behavior by workers, companies and markets that define the New Economy.

In the New Economy, people live on Internet time and product cycles are measured in months, not years. It is the slice of the economy driven by entrepreneurs, stock options and network effects. Silicon Valley is its headquarters, with subsidiaries in Seattle, Austin and elsewhere. It is the future, its proponents insist, coming to your home soon.

If Microsoft wins, the digital age will unfold as a free-fire zone of let-er-rip capitalism, for better or worse. If Microsoft loses, courts or the antitrust watchdogs may be getting their ears into such complex matters as product design, for better or worse.

Let the courts decide. But for an analytic examination of struggle and competition at the edge of the New Economy today, a new book, "Competing on Internet Time: Lessons from Netscape and Its Battle with Microsoft" (The Free Press), offers some intriguing insights. The book, written by Michael A. Cusumano, a professor at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology's Sloan School of Management, and David B. Yoffie, a professor at the Harvard Business School, was placed in evidence at the Microsoft trial last week.

In its defense, Microsoft points to passages in the book in which executives of Netscape Communications are quoted speaking candidly about their missteps. Microsoft calls these statements proof that Netscape's travails in the Internet browser market were its own doing, not because Microsoft was acting like a nasty monopolist.

Yet the book as a whole reads as a coming-of-age account of the triumphs and setbacks of a fast-moving Internet pioneer daring or foolish enough to take on the dominant company in computing, Netscape's experience teaches as much about what hasn't changed as what has.

A fundamental lesson is that even revolutionary technologies take time to cause a revolution. No matter how great the tail wind of hype and venture capital, the Next Big Thing takes time to change the practices and habits of companies and people. "Netscape got too ambitious and too wedded to the belief that the Internet revolution would change everything tomorrow," Mr. Yoffie explained.

The threat Netscape posed to Microsoft was that its browser could serve as an alternative "platform" to Microsoft's Windows. In other words, the browser could take the place of Windows as the first thing users see when they start their computers and as the departure point from which applications could be started.

But it takes a long time for a new computing platform to catch hold, as thousands of software programmers gradually become converts and write applications that work with the new platform. By often and publicly declaring that it was going to challenge Microsoft head-on, Netscape aroused the software giant, which trailed in Internet software. "Net-

scape had the perfect Trojan horse," Mr. Yoffie said. "But it woke up the enemy before it was entrenched."

As it matured, Netscape also found that while the speed of product development was important, so was traditional product quality. Netscape's free-wheeling "hacker culture" fostered flexibility and creativity — one Netscape manager quoted in the book described its development style as "slightly out of control" — but also led to buggy software, a nuisance that became problematic with more sales to quality-conscious corporations.

In the last year or so, the authors note, Netscape has made strides in quality, hiring testers and increasing its use of automated testing software. Netscape has increased its ratio of testers to developers from one-to-five to one-to-three, though it still trails Microsoft's one-to-one ratio. "You can be fast and flexible in software development, but you have to pay the price in testing," Mr. Cusumano said.

Netscape's future is by no means assured. But for all the talk at the trial about Microsoft trying to crush it, Netscape has done a good job of changing its strategy to avoid tackling Microsoft head-on whenever possible.

What Netscape, the Internet pioneer, has learned — setting aside the legal issues — is precisely what the pioneers of the personal-computer revolution learned. They declared that their technology would change the world, but the process works in the other direction, too. For a breakthrough technology to move into the mainstream, it must become more mainstream — easier, more reliable and more useful for the workaday chores of the economy. It does not change everything overnight.

The New York Times

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Charles Schumer for Senator

The New York Senate race this year is one of those rare contests in which it is a pleasure to take sides. The incumbent Republican, Alfonse D'Amato, is a strong campaigner and a powerful politician who knows how to get things done. But his opponent, Representative Charles Schumer, is a more serious lawmaker with more rooted values, sounder policy positions and a deeper commitment to the common good. The chunks of pork Mr. D'Amato boasts of bringing home are no fair exchange for the damage he does with his impulsive style and devotion to special interests. New York deserves a senator who will grow in gravitas, not just in volume. The state needs a senator who hearkens to the yearnings of the average citizen rather than to the demands of contributors and his party's ideologues.

Mr. D'Amato's talent for political pyrotechnics has obscured the fact that he is far to the right of the average New Yorker on many issues. He supported the disastrous Gingrich/Lott strategy of forcing a Government shutdown in order to try to blackmail the White House into accepting repeal of key parts of the social safety net. He sides with the extreme positions of the National Rifle Association in opposing gun control. Mr. Schumer, in contrast, has been responsible for legislation to curb the sale of handguns to criminals and the mentally incompetent. Mr. D'Amato has consistently voted to deprive women of the right to legal abortion, while Mr. Schumer was responsible for passage of legislation to protect the right of access to abortion clinics. Mr. D'Amato has an unreliable record when it comes to legislation that protects the environment. Mr. Schumer's is excellent.

Mr. D'Amato, a successful but greedily unselective fund-raiser, has snubbed the crusade for campaign-finance reform by uttering platitudes about fixing the system but working behind the scenes to kill the McCain-Feingold reform bill. Mr. Schumer, although he has been a prodigious fundraiser himself, has been a consistent supporter of bills to control the power of special interests in American elections. He was a faithful supporter of campaign finance reform not only this year, but also in the past, when Democrats were in the majority and his own party leadership was far less enthusiastic about talk of change.

Mr. D'Amato's re-election pitch has always been his ability to deliver for New York as "Senator Pothole." Although that talent seems to go into higher gear as elections near, he has scored some real triumphs in matters like getting the state its fair share of transportation funds and securing help for Holocaust victims in their fight with Swiss banking authorities. He has sometimes risen to the occasion on other fronts, most notably his handling of the Senate hearings on Whitewater. But he mainly is a man of the moment, who wins skirmishes without holding any greater vision of what the fight is for. He picks up cash for individual projects back home, but consistently undermines the state's long-term interests in the Senate. While other Republicans from the Northeast have fought to push their party toward the center, Mr. D'Amato buys into the overall vision of the Senate leadership, which is anti-urban and focused on the economic needs of the South and West.

The question before the voters, then, is how to use the past of these two men as a guide to the

future. Mr. D'Amato will remain what he has always been, a scrapper who brings home at least some of the bacon and from time to time has to explain that his latest gaffe was not really intended as a slur against ethnic group X or religion Y or constituency group Z. With Al D'Amato, what you see is what you get, and what you get is often vital, sometimes useful and always unpredictable. But it is not now and never will be the kind of balanced leadership that New York ought to be supplying to the Senate and the nation.

In contrast to Mr. D'Amato, Mr. Schumer has used the 18 years since his election to the House to mature from a raw and ambitious young politician to a man with the legislative skills, overarching policy interests and demeanor of a high-impact Senator. Unlike Mr. D'Amato, Mr. Schumer has not faced questions about relatives using his Capitol office for business purposes or endured Congressional ethics investigations. Voters should not forget that Mr. D'Amato has never arranged for the Senate Ethics Committee to release his testimony during closed hearings on conflict-of-interest charges against him. Sealing records and escaping legal sanction are not good enough. New York needs a senator of notorious probity, and Mr. Schumer fits that bill.

It is ironic that Mr. Schumer, who is one of the most infamous workaholics in Congress, has been attacked by Mr. D'Amato as a no-show representative. The consistent harping on Mr. Schumer's attendance record was trivial, but it was also a tactically brilliant piece of demagoguery that flattened the flight path of the Schumer campaign. Instead of building a poll lead as he needed to last week, Mr. Schumer has been struggling to hold his altitude. The political reality is that he can win, but he will need a flawless performance on the stump, smart and incessant advertising and every available progressive vote to do so. Mr. Schumer and the electorate will have to beware of last-minute tricks from Mr. D'Amato, such as his promise in 1992 not to seek re-election this year.

One advantage for Mr. Schumer is that Mr. D'Amato's desperate and overreaching charges may tilt the advantage back. The D'Amato attempt to capitalize on Mr. Schumer's missed procedural vote on using the Capitol Rotunda for a Holocaust memorial carried the whiff of panic. So, too, did Mr. D'Amato's use of a vulgar term to describe Mr. Schumer and his ridiculing of Representative Jerrold Nadler for being portly. These incidents reminded voters of the cruelty and tastelessness that have pocked this Senator's career. At bottom, the deal Mr. D'Amato offers voters is rough and candid. They have to put up with his gaffes, ethical problems and loyalty to an ultraconservative agenda because he knows how to play the bureaucracy and the budget game to get New York's slice of the pie.

But opportunism, however skillfully executed, is not leadership appropriate for a state that historically has been a national seedbed for talent in both parties. Mr. Schumer has the capacity to become the kind of senator New York deserves, a senator who will engender pride rather than embarrassment, a senator who will lead Congress on education, the environment, health care, gun control and abortion rights. For all those reasons, we endorse Charles Schumer for the United States Senate.

Editorial Observer/FLOYD NORRIS

Losing the Corporate Crown

No man, the Bible says, can serve two masters. But it is silent on what happens when a company has two masters, each of whom is used to being the sole boss. The reality these days is that few things are more likely to mess up a merger — either before or after it is completed — than squabbles about the duties and prerogatives of the two erstwhile chiefs.

The latest casualty of such a battle is David Coulter, the 51-year-old president of BankAmerica. Mr. Coulter was chief executive of BankAmerica, before it was taken over by NationsBank, in what was officially called a merger of equals and left Mr. Coulter No. 2 and heir apparent to Hugh McColl, No. 1, the man who built NationsBank (now called BankAmerica) into a giant.

That merger became effective only a few weeks ago, not long before the merged bank reported that profits were slashed by an ill-fated hedge fund investment made by the bank that Mr. Coulter had run. Analysts friendly to Mr. McColl immediately began speculating that Mr. Coulter was a goner, and his "resignation" was announced last Sunday.

Whether or not Mr. Coulter deserved to walk the plank, he did so without much financial pain. His compensation package will bring him about \$30 million as he leaves.

Still, his departure highlighted what has become a major problem: how to deal with a man — there are few women running large companies — who is used to being the top guy,

After the merger, the former C.E.O. is vulnerable

the one who always gets his way, but who will now have a boss. Often, when two huge companies merge, the solution is for the younger of the two chief executives to become No. 2, with a promise, stated or implied, that he will replace the older boss at retirement. Trouble is, there probably was at least one other executive who thought he had a shot at the top job. So the new No. 2 not only has to get used to having a boss, but also must learn about a new company in the presence of executives who resent his arrival and would love to get rid of him.

Sometimes the solution has been to let each guy stay as boss. That was the plan when Sandy Weill and John Reed were made co-chief executives of Citicorp, the combination of Travelers and Citicorp. The plan may even work, although it should be noted that few companies voluntarily choose such an arrangement except in mergers.

A co-boss arrangement was also chosen when American Home Products agreed to merge with Monsanto. But that deal fell apart after the two bosses began squabbling over almost everything. It was the third drug-industry merger of the year to fail

as the result of such bickering. Probably the oddest management plan yet devised for a merged company came when Cendant was formed last year by a merger of HFS and CUC International. Henry Silverman, the boss at HFS, was to run the company for a few years, with his old subordinates holding down other top jobs. Then that whole team was to step aside and let the old CUC team take over.

That arrangement blew up, with the former head of CUC, Walter Forbes, forced out (with a \$35 million severance package) after investigators concluded there had been massive accounting fraud that inflated profits for years at CUC. But even before that fraud was uncovered, Mr. Forbes's old underlings were being forced out in what could be viewed as a power play by the HFS team.

The Cendant disaster is clearly extreme, but it highlights a common problem in making a merger work. Two management teams try to get the best arrangement they can in a merger, for themselves and for their shareholders, and each may suspect that the other side was not totally forthcoming about its problems. Then, when the deal is done, all are supposed to work together.

It is not easy to do. The merging companies may talk of cost savings and strategic vision, but in the end what often counts are the needs and wants of people who are used to running their own show. Once you have been No. 1, being No. 2 is no fun.

Gay March Didn't Honor Shepard

To the Editor:

Helicopters hovering and New York City police units in riot gear blocking traffic and preventing pedestrian movement seemed to me to be, at best, a disappointing response to a heartfelt demonstration by American citizens to the murder of Matthew Shepard, the gay Wyoming college student, and, at worst, a reminder of the dangers of an armed police force massed in a community (news article, Oct. 20).

A police presence is supposed to function as a symbol of peacekeeping. However, the nature and extent of the police presence at Madison Square Park acted to transform the symbol to one of power and control. In the process it created a potentially dangerous situation for all concerned.

SONDRA LEFTOFF

New York, Oct. 20, 1998

The writer is an associate professor of psychology, John Jay College of Criminal Justice, CUNY.

To the Editor:

Though a gay-rights activist, I write to defend the behavior of New York City police officers at last Monday's demonstration against the killing of Matthew Shepard, the gay Wyoming college student.

Contrary to the contention of one of the organizers that "we were doing nothing illegal, wrong or unsafe" (news article, Oct. 20), the attempt to lead 4,000 people down Fifth Avenue during the end of rush hour was all three. While I participated in the march, it was my observation that the police displayed commendable sensitivity to the marchers, accompanied by a degree of forcefulness necessitated by the leaderless push of the crowd.

I am a strong believer in the efficacy of civil disobedience, especially in response to public indifference to injustice. But the gay and straight communities would have been better served by a peaceful contemplation of the tragedy.

THOMAS GRANT 3D

New York, Oct. 21, 1998

To the Editor:

Thomas N. Beck (letter, Oct. 21) reasons that "if Matthew Shepard had been heterosexual, he never would have been killed in the first

place." While true, it must be noted that thousands of heterosexuals are murdered each year. Regardless of the motives behind their deaths, their killers should also receive the maximum penalty available.

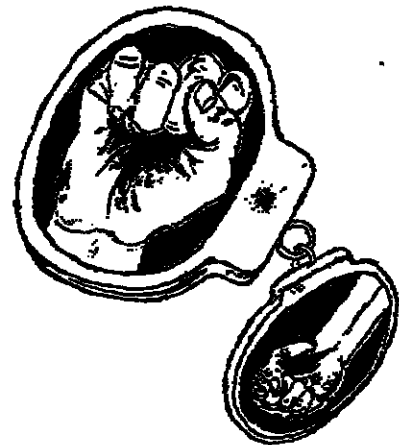
Incorporating a victim's race, gender, religion or life style (along with how the assailant felt about it) in determining justice ignores our slow but steady march toward tolerance.

DAVID E. BERGSTEIN

New York, Oct. 22, 1998

To the Editor:

The argument of Robert J. Switzer (letter, Oct. 21) and other hate-crime law advocates that such laws do not punish prejudicial thoughts or speech, but rather acting on those prejudices, is specious.



Susan Williamson

There already are long-established laws against intrinsically hateful crimes like murder and assault. If one convicted of such a crime is more severely punished because he happened to utter a slur, ethnic or otherwise, during the commission of the offense, he would, in effect, be sanctioned for his prejudiced thoughts and speech.

If hate-crime laws have any deterrent effect, it would be to encourage would-be violent criminals to act silently and to keep their bigoted thoughts, if any, to themselves.

ZACHARY M. BERMAN

Rego Park, Queens, Oct. 21, 1998

Respecting the Chief

To the Editor:

Re "A Soldier's Respect" (letter, Oct. 23): Contrary to Thomas P. Evans, it is not "irrelevant whether or not members of the armed forces show respect for President Clinton." A soldier, above all, has to respect the leader who is going to tell him to get out of the foxhole and charge.

Merely respecting the men on your right or left, as Mr. Evans suggests, doesn't cut it. WILLIAM R. BREEN
Mohegan Lake, N.Y., Oct. 23, 1998
The writer is a former United States marine.

It's About Priorities

To the Editor:

Pursuing impeachment with the wild partisanship that marks them as henchmen rather than statesmen, Republicans are using Bill Clinton's personal weakness as a crass expedient to try to undo the American electorate's democratic will (news article, Oct. 22).

At stake are female reproductive choice, minimum-wage assurances, Social Security, civil rights and liberties (including action against hate crimes), consumer and environmental protection, equal educational opportunity, affordable health and day care, union organizing activity and collective bargaining.

Right-wing conservatives want them all either emasculated or abolished, the better to serve big business and high finance while penalizing America's wage-earning majority.

DENNIS RAKHONEN

Superior, Wis., Oct. 23, 1998

To the Editor:

Re "Outlook for Political Dynamics: More of the Same" (news analysis, Oct. 22):

I would like to plant a seed that could grow into a wonderful program that Republicans and Democrats could develop as a bipartisan effort. I propose a Federal, Medicare-like entitlement for all children, not just poor children, from birth to age 12.

It would provide some basic medical services like clinic visits and necessary hospitalizations and eventually be expanded to include other medical needs.

Although necessarily financed through increased taxes, this Medicare for children would result in a healthier population. Children would be better able to grow, learn and succeed. This also implies, in the long haul, a reduction in overall medical costs. Perhaps we can agree that children deserve such attention.

ERIC R. TOWSE

Brooklyn, Oct. 23, 1998

The Times welcomes letters from readers. Letters must include the writer's name, address and telephone number. Those selected may be shortened for space reasons. Fax letters to (212) 556-3622 or send by electronic mail to letters@nytimes.com, or by regular mail to Letters to the Editor, The New York Times, 229 West 43d Street, New York, N.Y. 10036-3959.

Now Help Utilities Invest in Efficiency

To the Editor:

Deregulation is indeed causing power companies to slash or eliminate their conservation programs, but the problem is even worse than you report ("U.S. Splurging on Energy After Falling Off Its Diet," front page, Oct. 22).

In 1997 spending by utilities dropped to \$1.6 billion, and power companies invested in energy conservation only one-third the amount promised five years earlier. If utilities had invested at the levels they promised before deregulation, they would have prevented the emission of 11 million tons of global warming gases and 79,000 tons of soot and smog-forming pollutants.

This would have saved more than \$1 billion for customers in 1997 alone. The Federal and state governments must insure that future financing is available for energy efficiency programs. The best way to do this is through a public benefits fund that, like the one being set up in New York, provides money for energy efficiency and renewable energy programs.

JOHN COEQUYT

Washington, Oct. 22, 1998

The writer is an analyst at the Environmental Working Group.

Microsoft and I.B.M.

To the Editor:

T. J. Rodgers ("What's Good for Microsoft ...," Op-Ed, Oct. 20) says the Justice Department's 13-year case against I.B.M. was a failure. Not true. It changed the way I.B.M. did business. I.B.M. stumbled into the 1990's a different, better company as it tried to adjust to the new way it had to do business.

The deal Bill Gates cut with I.B.M. that allowed Microsoft to sell its operating system to I.B.M. competitors would never have happened without the lawsuit. Before the I.B.M. PC, there were many different PC-type systems running a variety of operating systems with no standard or single platform.

Microsoft exists today because of that suit. The case against Microsoft, won or lost, will no doubt similarly benefit industry and the consumer.

HARVEY BROFMAN

Holbrook, N.Y., Oct. 21, 1998
The writer owns a computer-services company.

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Pinochet's Arrest Violates No Law

To the Editor:

The Chilean Government and lawyers for Gen. Augusto Pinochet have protested that Mr. Pinochet was detained in Britain, at the request of Spain, to answer charges concerning the murder of hundreds of Chilean and Spanish citizens (news article, Oct. 20). They fail to realize how fortunate he is.

General Pinochet was legally detained. The charges against him are not frivolous or trumped up. He was not strip-searched for no reason and has not been tortured. He has access to lawyers and a proper defense. He is not languishing in a filthy, clandestine prison, and his body has not been found floating down river from Santiago, weeks after he was "disappeared."

GRAHAM RUSSELL

Washington, Oct. 21, 1998

France Shirked Its Duty

To the Editor:

I admire the courage and tenacity of Judge Baltasar Garçon, who is seeking Gen. Augusto Pinochet's extradition to Spain for trial, and I hope the Spanish Government will support him (news article, Oct. 21).

I am ashamed, however, of the position of my country, France, which has avoided involvement. France refused Mr. Pinochet's request to go to France for surgery because, you report, it had "private indications that Judge Garçon was planning to file an extradition request." France thus betrayed its ideals and the declaration of human rights.

MARTINE FERNANDES

Oakland, Calif., Oct. 21, 1998

Justice, Then Healing

To the Editor:

Why were so many people murdered in Chile (news article, Oct. 20)? Why did so many "disappear"? Why has there been so little justice?

All these years after World War II, Nazi war criminals are still hunted down. It only serves the interests of the perpetrators to let crimes go unpunished, no matter how long ago they were committed. Those who want to forget the mass murders in Chile in the 1970's are mistaken if they think forgetting will heal the aggrieved. Justice will be served if Gen. Augusto Pinochet is finally brought to account for his role in these crimes.

JAMES QUIGLEY

Montclair, N.J., Oct. 20, 1998

Majority Support

To the Editor:

Your Oct. 20 editorial does not mention some important points about the rule of Gen. Augusto Pinochet. Mr. Pinochet took power in 1973 with the approval of the Chilean Congress and the support of the majority of the Chilean people, including President Patricio Aylwin.

In 1980, 67 percent of the Chilean people voted for a new Constitution, which called for a transition to a democratic government. Moreover, in 1988, Mr. Pinochet's Government held a referendum to determine whether Chileans wanted him to continue as President or hold elections. Although Mr. Pinochet lost, 43 percent of the voters supported keeping him in office. Recently, the Chilean Congress rejected efforts to keep him from the Senate as a senator for life.

FELIPE MUJICA

Santiago, Chile, Oct. 20, 1998

Let Chileans Decide

To the Editor:

The Spanish judge who persuaded Britain to arrest Gen. Augusto Pinochet for questioning regarding crimes against humanity has overreached (news article, Oct. 19). Chile has been through radical upheavals in the last 25 years, and there are still disagreements about the past among Chileans. But most Chileans have expressed a desire to move ahead to a united future, rather than remain divided over the disagreements of the past. If Chileans have granted immunity, by what right do British and Spanish bureaucrats intervene?

JOHN MORAN

New York, Oct. 19, 1998

McCarthy's Revisionists

To the Editor:

Re "Revisionist McCarthyism" (editorial, Oct. 23):

I was a "pink-diaper" baby. My grandfather, a stalwart progressive who also happened to be a successful capitalist, supported socialist causes throughout his life and put up with harassing visits from agents of J. Edgar Hoover's Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Writers who in light of recently discovered documents say that Senator Joseph McCarthy may have been right are little more than thinly veiled apologists for anti-Communist excesses. They are disingenuous in trying to discredit the humanitarian convictions of people like my grandparents.

McCarthyism wasn't about how many spies may or may not have turned up in Soviet files almost a half-century later. It was a hate crime that involved lies, fear, innuendo, intimidation, abuses of civil rights and a lot of other things that my grandparents — and the lessons in my civics classes — taught me were truly un-American.

PAUL KLEYMAN

San Francisco, Oct. 23, 1998

Foreign Affairs
THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN

The Morning After

On the morning after being defeated by Benjamin Netanyahu in Israel's 1996 elections, the Labor Party leader, Shimon Peres, was asked what he thought happened. "The Israelis lost," said Mr. Peres. "The Jews won."

What Mr. Peres was referring to was his notion that Israel had become divided between "Israelis" and "Jews." The "Israelis" tend to be secular, with their primary loyalty to Israel as a state and their own individual and material advancement. They see Israel's future as being in the peace process and in greater and greater integration with the region and the world at large. The Israelis, though, come in two varieties: the dovish, liberal Israelis (49 percent) and the conservative, security-hawk Israelis (25.5 percent). The dovish Israelis pretty much liked Oslo as it was, and voted for Peres; the security-hawk Israelis wanted a better Oslo, and voted for Bibi to make it happen.

The "Jews" (25.5 percent), by contrast, come from the traditional and Orthodox communities, the West Bank settlements and the religious-Zionist movements. They are devoted to a traditional conception of Judaism and see the Israeli state as a means to fulfill Judaism's commandments, not as an end in itself. The Jews are skeptical of integration, which they equate with assimilation, and they see Israel as fared to perpetually struggle with its non-Jewish neighbors. They were threatened by Oslo and voted for Bibi in hopes that he would kill it.

Bibi's heart always seemed to be with the Jews, but his head — and his electoral future — was always with the Israeli hawks (and doves). For two years, he did all he could to avoid having to choose between them, but when finally forced to do so — when presented with a credible Palestinian security plan, undergirded by the C.I.A. — Mr. Netanyahu opted for a deal based on what most Israelis wanted (a better Oslo), not on what most Jews wanted (no more Oslo).

In doing so, Bibi did something hugely important. He brought the Israeli hawks into Oslo, adding them to the Israeli doves who were already there, and thereby put the Oslo accord on a solid foundation of 75 percent of the Israeli public.

The Israeli Israelis are now all on board, but many of the Israeli Jews are still not. The crucial political

Netanyahu's next mission.

question is, Can Bibi bring the Jews into Oslo as well? Until now, Bibi has kept the Jews on board — while negotiating with the Palestinians — by constantly delegitimizing Yasir Arafat, building settlements and playing down prospects for any deal. He has been like Nixon going to China, while all the time telling his people he was just visiting Taiwan. But this time it is clear to everyone: He has gone to China. He is doing his own deal with Yasir. And God bless him for it.

But for this deal to work, Bibi has to treat the Palestinians as a real partner (and they him) and freeze settlements and rein in Jewish extremists, every bit as much as Arafat has to rein in Hamas. And that means he has to find a way to hold the Jews, and bring them along into Oslo, not by playing on their fears of peace with the Palestinians, but by constructing a positive vision of it for them.

"Bibi has now taken ownership of the pragmatic side of the Oslo peace process and made it better and more popular," said Stephen Cohen of the Center for Middle East Peace. "But now Bibi has got to begin to build a constituency among the Jews of Israel for peace as something more than a defeat of the Palestinians or the result of coercion from Washington. It has to have a positive meaning for them — if they are to give him the space he needs, not only to implement this deal, but to reach a final accord. He has got to start persuading the Jewish Jews that a smaller Israel, at peace with the Palestinians and respected in the region, will lead to the real 'Greater Israel.'"

Bibi's first instinct, though, seems to be to tell the Jews that he had no choice, that he got them the least bad option, and to try to toss them bones like the release of Jonathan Pollard. That may work for some for a while, but it won't cut it for long. Because as Oslo moves forward, and more territory is ceded, these Jews will feel they are losing their Israel, and that will make them very dangerous. This is the time when Bibi needs something more than pragmatism. He needs the thing that Shimon Peres was so often ridiculed for — a vision of Israel at peace that will make a settlement with the Palestinians a positive choice not just for Israel's Israelis, but also for its Jews.

Maureen Dowd is on vacation.

A Budget We Should Be Ashamed Of

By John McCain

WASHINGTON In the 266 calendar days of the session that officially ended on Wednesday, the 105th Congress passed only four of the 13 appropriations bills that keep the Government functioning. Then, on the 267th day, we debated and passed a 4,000-page, 40-pound, non-amendable budget that gives half a trillion dollars to finance 10 Cabinet-level departments for the fiscal year that started 25 days ago.

This year's appropriations bill exceeds the Federal budget ceiling by \$20 billion for what is euphemistically called emergency spending, much of which is really garden-variety, special-interest, pork-barrel spending — paid for by robbing the budget surplus.

I voted against the bill, as did many of my colleagues of both parties. It is a betrayal of our responsibility to spend the taxpayers' dollars wisely and to enact laws that reflect the best interests of all Americans, rather than the special interests of a few.

Voters made Republicans the majority in Congress four years ago because we vowed to put Washington's fiscal house in order and to reduce the expensive and burdensome Federal bureaucracy. We succeeded in balancing the budget, creating a surplus for the first time in nearly 30 years. Yet

John McCain, a Republican, is a Senator from Arizona.

we were unable to resist the temptation to dip into that \$70 billion surplus — not to save Social Security, pay down the national debt or provide much-needed tax relief, but to finance dubious projects.

Of course, the Republican majority cannot produce legislation that perfectly reflects the party's priorities. The President and the Democrats play a big role. But surely legislation of this magnitude should primarily reflect the principles on which Republicans were elected.

When we say we are going to save Social Security first, we should make some attempt to do so. When we call something an emergency, we should be able to say it with a straight face. When we promise to restore the resources needed for national defense, we must pay some attention to the concerns of the military. When we promise to return to the taxpayers some of the money they have sent to Washington, we should rank that pledge higher on our list of priorities than the usual cornucopia of parochial spending.

Most disturbing to me is the misallocation of defense dollars. Last month, the Joint Chiefs of Staff testified to Congress about an impending crisis in military readiness. Their principal concern was restoring military retirement benefits for 20-year veterans to a full 50 percent of their highest three salary years.

So what did the Congress and the Administration do? We allocated only \$1.1 billion to the Chiefs' priorities, and spent an additional \$8 billion in "emergency" defense money for

three Gulfstream executive jets, some helicopters for Colombia's anti-drug effort and other programs that, while perhaps important, will not reverse the decline in military readiness.

The waste does not stop with defense spending. Consider just a small sample of other "emergency" projects:

\$250,000 for an Illinois company to

The G.O.P. traded principles for pork.

research caffeinated chewing gum. \$750,000 for grasshopper research in Alaska.

\$1.1 million for manure handling and disposal in Starkville, Miss.

\$5 million for a new International Law Enforcement Academy in Roswell, N.M.

\$1 million to Kings College in Wilkes-Barre, Pa., for commercialization of pulverization technology.

\$250,000 for a lettuce geneticist in Salinas, Calif.

\$200,000 for research on turkey carnosinase in Indiana.

\$100,000 for Vidalia onion research in Georgia.

\$2.5 million for the Food and Drug Administration's Office of Cosmetics and Color.

I put together a 52-page list of items in this budget that watchdog groups would identify as questionable spending. Some of the projects may well be

worthy. But none went through the appropriate merit-based selection process to determine whether they were more or less a priority than thousands of other projects not in the bill.

This is because negotiations were conducted behind closed doors — out of the sight of the people as well as most members of Congress. This year's budget is eerily reminiscent of what happened in 1988, when President Ronald Reagan returned to Congress three enormous documents weighing 43 pounds and totaling something less than 4,000 pages, and said, "Congress shouldn't send another one of these." He was right — we cannot do business this way.

The Senate, as its first order of business next year, should require the President to submit and Congress to pass budgets covering two fiscal years, rather than a single year. This would lend stability and predictability to the process. We should also change the Senate's procedures to require any project costing more than \$1 million to be approved by both the authorizing and appropriating committees, and not sneaked into the larger appropriations bill. Finally, we need to make it easier to discuss and amend appropriations bills throughout the year, rather than considering a nonamendable omnibus bill at the last minute.

These proposals would go a long way toward restoring openness and fairness. They would put an end to budget by brinkmanship and begin to restore Americans' confidence in Washington's ability to spend their money carefully.

In America
BOB HERBERT

Protecting Abortion Clinics

The bomb went off about 7:30 in the morning, just as Emily Lyons was heading into work. The damage was devastating.

"I lost my left eye and it damaged my right eye," Ms. Lyons said in a telephone interview on Thursday. "Just today I got a contact lens. It's a big deal for me. It's the first time I'm able to see in nine months."

Ms. Lyons, a registered nurse, was walking into the New Woman, All Women Health Care Clinic in Birmingham, Ala., last Jan. 29 when the homemade bomb exploded. It killed an off-duty policeman, Robert Sanderson, who worked as a security guard at the clinic.

Ms. Lyons was almost killed. "It pretty much mangled my right hand," she said. "And my little finger was broken and didn't heal right, so I've got a permanently polite little pinky, like when you drink tea. The lower right side of my abdomen had a hole the size of your fist in it. They had to repair that. They had to remove part of my large and small intestine."

"Both of my kneecaps were full of nails. They had to open those up. Remove the nails so the joints would move again. My left leg was broken. They had to repair that. And my body is covered with dark spots. Long dark spots. That's where all the nails went in."

Abortions were performed at the clinic and it had been a target of protesters for years. The bomb exploded a week after the 25th anniversary of Roe v. Wade, the landmark Supreme Court decision that legalized abortion. The person who planted the bomb has not been caught.

Ms. Lyons is married and the mother of two teen-age daughters. Her job at the clinic was to counsel women who were considering an abortion. For that she almost paid with her life.

This week Ms. Lyons will take a small political step that she hopes will help the many men and women who face similar dangers. She will appear in a television ad in New York criticizing Senator Alfonse D'Amato for voting against a bill designed to protect doctors and other health care workers and their clients from violent acts by anti-abortion extremists.

The ad is sponsored by the National Abortion and Reproductive Rights Action League. The bill, which passed and was signed into law by President Clinton in 1994, made it a Federal crime to attack or blockade an abortion clinic. It was sponsored

Why did D'Amato vote no?

by Representative Charles Schumer, who is running against Mr. D'Amato for the Senate.

Mr. D'Amato's office did not respond to questions last week about why he had opposed the bill, which was known as the Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances Act.

Kate Michelman, the league's president, said, "It took several deaths to finally have Congress take a serious look at the fact that in some communities across the country law enforcement officials either were not able to address the problem or they, frankly, were not willing to take action because some of them agreed with the protesters."

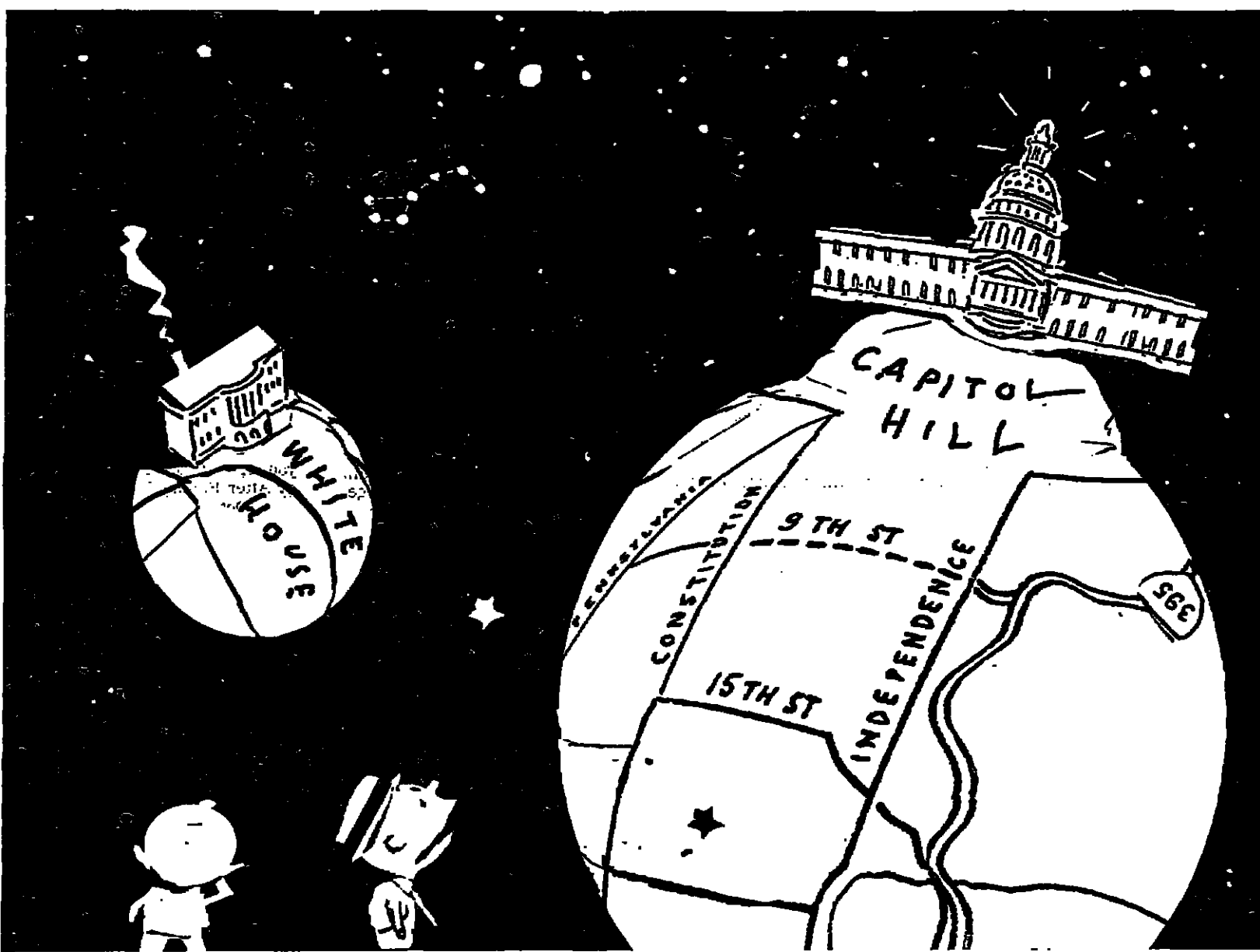
A vote for the bill was not a vote in favor of abortion. It was a vote against the use of violence and murder to achieve a political end. As Ms. Michelman said, "It was about enforcing the rule of law in a civilized society."

The law has helped reduce violence at abortion clinics, but the problem, as the attack in Birmingham showed, is still a serious one. A survey by the Feminist Majority Foundation found that nearly 25 percent of abortion clinics were targets of violence or threats of violence in 1997. The survey said the clinics were plagued by "blockades, invasions, bomb threats and bombings, arson threats and arsons, chemical attacks, death threats and stalking."

Ms. Lyons said that as she began the long, slow recovery from her wounds she felt compelled "to do whatever it takes in the future to make sure this doesn't happen to someone else."

She taped the ad on Friday. In it she says, "When a bomb ripped through my clinic I almost lost my life, and it will never be the same. When Al D'Amato had a chance, he voted against protecting women's health clinics from anti-abortion terrorists. I am determined to stop this violence against women, so I'm speaking out."

I asked Ms. Lyons how she and her family were doing emotionally in the aftermath of the attack. "Pretty well," she said. "It's what life has dealt us this year. You take it and go with it."



The War Between the Democrats

By Alonzo L. Hamby

ATHENS, Ohio As they left Washington this weekend for the election break, Congressional Republicans were either muttering that President Clinton had once again taken them to the cleaners or defending their retreat in the last-minute budget showdown. Democrats heading for the airport were laughing, joking and enjoying the opposition's discomfort.

This picture of partisan triumph and unity has momentarily obscured the President's odd relationship with his fellow Democrats on Capitol Hill. The party's Congressional leaders now stand in front of what looks to be an impressively united phalanx of support for Mr. Clinton against impeachment-minded Republicans.

Yet there is a softness to their backing; a drop in Mr. Clinton's approval rating or an unexpected election setback might find the Democrats distancing themselves once again from the President. No one has forgotten the deep ideological divisions of the past — over the North American Free Trade Agreement, welfare reform and other far-reaching changes in American life made possible by the tactical alliance of the White House and Congressional Republicans.

But the mutual distrust between Mr. Clinton and Congressional Democrats shouldn't surprise us. It is an old story, with a new twist.

It used to be that liberal Democratic Presidents tangled with Democratic conservatives in Congress. More recently, moderate Democrats in the White House have coexisted uneasily with the liberal core of the party on Capitol Hill.

In 1938, Franklin Roosevelt, infuriated by the resistance of many Southern Democratic senators to the New Deal, tried to purge recalcitrants by intervening in selected state primaries. He failed miserably. One of his targets, Walter George of Georgia, reportedly responded to a remark that the President was his own worst enemy by saying, "Not while I'm alive!" George stayed alive, and in the Senate, for another 19 years.

Roosevelt remained much loved in Georgia and throughout the South as a champion of the common people.

A new twist on a story that began with F.D.R.

Senator George, for better or worse, represented an equally strong side of his state and region — a tradition that included states' rights, suspicion of organized labor and defense of Jim Crow. Roosevelt successfully appealed to voting groups by voicing political ideas that were anathema to Senator George but had a broad national base. Despite their differences, both men maintained a surface cordiality and participated in all the rituals of party solidarity.

Roosevelt's successor, Harry Truman, was a Senate man with numerous friendships among Southern legislators. Yet once he became President, his relationship with Southern Democrats deteriorated. Truman's advocacy of civil rights led to the 1948 Dixiecrat insurgency led by Strom Thurmond, then the Governor of South Carolina.

After his narrow re-election victory, Truman concluded he could not expel the Dixiecrats from the party or even reduce their power in Congress. For the remainder of his Presidency, Southern conservatives blocked most of his Fair Deal program.

John Kennedy likewise struggled to move a liberal domestic agenda against conservative forces in his own party, again mostly from the South. Lyndon Johnson was in a similar bind until his landslide victory over Barry Goldwater in 1964 swept a host of new liberal Democrats into Congress and made his Great Society programs possible.

In the 1970's, Watergate terminated Richard Nixon's attempt at building a Republican majority and produced yet another class of liberal Democrats on Capitol Hill like Christopher Dodd of Connecticut. Over time, they became solidly entrenched and increasingly powerful in a manner similar to that of the old conservative Southerners.

Yet the country moved in another direction, reacting against the excesses of the Great Society and the counterculture of the 1960's. The South itself was transformed by Northern migration and black voters. Since the 1970's, the quest for the Presidency has usually involved an effort to stake a plausible claim to the middle of the road, but liberal Democrats have retained their party dominance in Congress. It is no accident that the last two Democratic Presidents have both been Southern centrists who found themselves frequently at odds with hard-to-handle liberals in their own party.

Mr. Clinton has performed an adroit tightrope act, proclaiming the end of big government, calling for balanced budgets, school uniforms

and tougher law enforcement while also advocating national health insurance, bashing the tobacco companies and courting feminists, blacks, gays and organized labor. He has been especially effective in addressing the anxieties of women concerned with education, the environment and the workplace. Rather than appreciating the virtuosity of this performance, however, many Congressional liberals have chafed at Mr. Clinton's incrementalism and his slights.

In the 1996 Presidential campaign, Mr. Clinton even implied that he would be content if the Republicans retained a majority in Congress. His strategy of triangulation — the rhetorical co-optation of Republican ideas modified only by bits and pieces of the liberal Democratic program — was the key to his success.

On the other hand, liberals have been less dismayed than moderates by the Monica Lewinsky mess, with its overtones of 1960's counterculture. Thus, liberal Democrats like Representative Charles Rangel of New York have become Mr. Clinton's strongest defenders, while "New Democrats" like Senator Joseph Lieberman of Connecticut have been harshly critical of him.

Whatever Mr. Clinton's future holds, the differences between Democratic Presidents and their Congressional liberals will probably reassert themselves, sooner rather than later, and President Clinton may find himself acting more like a liberal than he would prefer.

Alonzo L. Hamby, who teaches American history at Ohio University, is the author, most recently, of "Man of the People: A Life of Harry S. Truman."

THE ARTS

A Coming-of-Age Tale in the Alleys Of a Sunny Oz

By ARIEL SWARTLEY

LOS ANGELES THE film is called "Anywhere but Here," but the sun-blasted alley where director Wayne Wang in a gray polo shirt and wire frame glasses is studiously contemplating an aging Mercedes could not actually be anywhere except Los Angeles. Indeed, to certain of the city's devotees, the view is as endearing in a downmarket way, as are, say, the wooden water towers that spike the Manhattan skyline to diehard New Yorkers. Among the signature features are a red bougainvillea flicking its papery blossoms over a pastel stucco wall; a glimpse of self-serve gas pumps; a neon motel sign; and, in the far distance, a haze of greenery denoting the wealthier enclaves of the city's West side.

Based on Mona Simpson's 1986 acclaimed coming-of-age novel by the same name, "Anywhere but Here" (set to open in April) stars Susan Sarandon and Natalie Portman as a runaway wife and her teen-age daughter who have pulled up stakes from small-town Wisconsin and driven straight toward the sunset as if it were their future.

When Mr. Wang calls for action, pausing for a moment between syllables as if to give everyone a chance to collect themselves in the 90 degree August heat, the women begin hauling household paraphernalia out of the Mercedes and up two flights of stairs to a dull-windowed apartment overlooking the alley.

As the relentlessly starry-eyed Adele, Ms. Sarandon is making yet another move to establish herself and her reluctant offspring in the glamorous life of her dreams. But it is a life like the city of Beverly Hills itself remains tantalizingly just over the horizon.

"It's almost like Dorothy going to the Emerald City," Mr. Wang has observed earlier, in the far cooler confines of a 20th Century Fox sound stage. "There's something kind of pure and very romantic" about Adele's aspirations. And something poignant about her disappointments. "She takes a look at a glamorous suite in a hotel in Beverly Hills," the producer, Laurence Mark, explains. "And of course she ends up at the Holiday Inn." Nonetheless, it is emblematic of this mother-daughter relationship that Ms. Sarandon — decked out for some midwestern vision of a patio party in pedal pushers, collared cardigan and dangly earrings — flutters around the car offering advice and searching for her purse, while Ms. Portman, as the 14-year-old Ann, is stuck with the heavy lifting.

The notion of Los Angeles as a Janus-faced temptress has been done before, of course, but Ms. Simpson's novel delineates the specificities of gloss and seediness with an abundance of detail that seems to have inspired everyone from location scouts to the screenwriter Alvin Sargent ("Julia," "Paper Moon"), who, according to Mr. Wang, "tore his hair out for many years" trying to distill this ambitious odyssey into a movie. More important, perhaps, the visual extremes that Beverly Hills and its environs so obligingly offer, of mindless luxury and sun-bleached squalor, become a kind of mirror of Adele herself and of the complicated feelings Ann has for her exhilarating, appalling, grasping, irrepressible mother.

In her trailer between scenes, Ms. Sarandon, who has played decidedly more saintly mothers in "Lorenzo's Oil" and the forthcoming "Step-

mom," is submitting to a touch-up manicure. "I'm the worst on nails," she says, "but we decided Adele has to have nail polish." Dressed in skin-tight Chinese brocade for a scene in which she has a date with a dentist, Ms. Sarandon shows off the fresh coat of red, a color she describes as "kind of fabulous." It's name, appropriately enough for a character whose efforts to find a husband are as doomed as her outfits, is Broken Heart.

"She's not very likable," Ms. Sarandon says of her character, "but she's very funny, so it's a challenge to find a way to get away with that and make it not too grating." She has just shot a dozen or more takes of a giddy Adele literally dragging her daughter out of bed so she can share the news of this latest prospect who is "not just a dentist, he's writing a screenplay." Ms. Sarandon laughs,

Wayne Wang's 'Anywhere but Here' uses the starkness of a city like nowhere else: Los Angeles.

only slightly ruefully. "I said to Natalie, I can see the reviews saying, 'Sarandon's chewing up the scenery and Portman's giving the film its heart.'"

In the scene they've just finished, the 17-year-old Ms. Portman, who plays the young queen in George Lucas's forthcoming "Star Wars: Episode I — The Phantom Menace," gives so convincing a portrayal of teen-age inertia that her immovable bulk sometimes seems to dwarf Ms. Sarandon. (In fact, the two are both slight and small-boned.) "It's a very interesting, almost a Thelma and Louise kind of balance," Ms. Sarandon says, referring to her 1991 female buddy movie.

It's seemingly not that big a step from the nonstop, slightly dotty charm that Ms. Sarandon displays off camera to Adele's hectic enthusiasms for themed outfits or ice cream at all hours. But when Ms. Simpson's novel was first published, reviewers found the mother a good deal more frightening. Vogue magazine described Adele as "truly a monster," though "human and vulnerable." Her effect on her child had its chilling aspects as well, revealed in the girl's callously manipulative sexual encounters with a boyfriend. That aspect of the story, too, has been softened in the film.

Spending the time between takes in her trailer with "Man's Search for Meaning," by Viktor E. Frankl (it's on her high school summer reading list), Ms. Portman recalls that when Mr. Wang first offered her the role — at the time she was playing Anne Frank on Broadway — she turned it down. "I said: 'It's really great and I would love to work with you, but there was a sex scene in the script. I'm not ready to do that on screen.' So he looked at other girls, and then he came back and said: 'You know what we're going to do? We're going to write it out of the movie.' So I said, 'Great.'"

Reached by phone, Mona Simpson, who is teaching at Bard College in Avondale-on-Hudson, N.Y., said she was not really aware of the film's details. "I saw them shoot one of the



Susan Sarandon and the director Wayne Wang on the set of "Anywhere but Here," based on Mona Simpson's 1986 novel.

opening scenes — it's a view of Beverly Hills seen from a hill in East L.A. Of course, what you're really seeing is Century City. Beverly Hills is rather lowlying. It doesn't stand out. But Wayne's visual style is so dark and interior, I can't imagine the movie being too light."

It is lunchtime, and the sound stage is largely deserted. Mr. Wang's deliberate, soft-spoken manner reinforces the scholarly impression of his looks. When he was given the script of "Anywhere but Here," he says, "I found it funny."

"I was kind of tormented by it and also very moved."

Others involved with the film are quick to speak of their own mothers in explaining their interest, but for Mr. Wang the link was paternal. "My father was kind of nutty, doing a lot of different kind of investments that were really dangerous," he says. "You know, the Chinese family always has a big bowl where they fill up the rice, and as a kid, when that rice goes almost down to the bottom, you start to worry because that's what you eat every day. That's what reminds me of Adele — the way she's sometimes irresponsible with her daughter."

Mr. Wang was looking to do a studio film after his independent (and disappointingly received) "Chinese Box," a film starring Jeremy Irons that opened earlier this year. Set in Hong Kong, where he was born after his parents fled the communist takeover of China, "Chinese Box" focused on the hand-over of the former British colony to the Chinese government. That movie was one Mr. Wang says he felt he had to do. In a way, however, he finds "Anywhere but Here" more of a challenge. "I have to make these characters truthful and yet really accessible — and not fall into the trap of making it too

easily entertaining."

As for Ms. Sarandon, Mr. Wang says, "she's very much a mother to the crew, and to me, too." Her first day on the set, she came bearing plastic beads for everyone that she'd found in Chinatown. They featured a dangling statue of Buddha that glowed in the dark. Mr. Wang's laugh is soaring, high-pitched, utterly infectious.

"When I first started making movies, I would just cast people to be themselves," he says. "But then I found actors were so wonderful."

They bring so much, and yet their own personality is melded in there. If you use them right, you can use some of that, too."

His cast proves him right. Back in the alley, Ms. Sarandon tries a new bit of business while unloading the Mercedes, bumping the laden Ms. Portman (who reacts with a vivid mixture of irritation and bemusement) in an attempt to reach the apartment first. The contrast of their movements — daring versus deliberate, eager versus aggrieved — and their laughable, painful, intertwining

dance is "Anywhere but Here" in miniature.

In the end, novel and film agree. However much we reach for labels — this parent is a good mother; that one unfit — the true face of our most intimate relationships, like that of the city encircling this alley, is a far more complicated melange, changing street by street and moment to moment — even as we look.

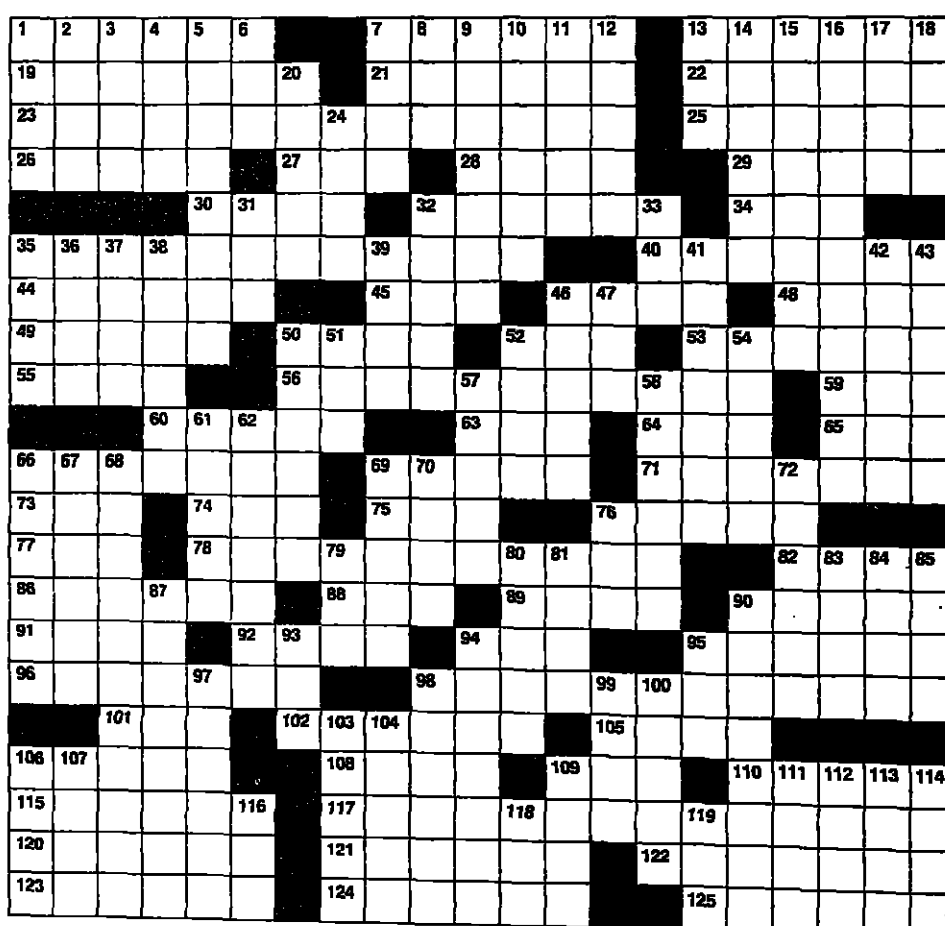
Ariel Swartley writes frequently about literary and popular culture from Los Angeles.

OH, HORRORS!

BY NANCY NICHOLSON JOLINE / EDITED BY WILL SHORTZ

ACROSS

- 1 Esteemed smoke
- 7 Table linen fabric
- 13 Calls for Pavarotti
- 19 Spanish sherry
- 21 John's "Grease" co-star
- 22 Nagging pain, perhaps
- 23 Halloween music?
- 25 Like the Columbia River
- 26 Fools
- 27 "Able was I —..."
- 28 Bath item
- 29 High-powered personality
- 30 — vez (again, in Acapulco)
- 32 Far from glitzy
- 34 Athos, to Aramis
- 35 Halloween pub offerings?
- 40 Guarantees
- 44 "Venus" singer
- 45 Word from a pointer
- 46 Bret Maverick's brother
- 48 Dolly — of "Hello, Dolly!"
- 49 Cove, "Murder, She Wrote" locale
- 50 Part of Caesar's boast
- 52 Place to sing
- 53 Lab slide objects, often
- 55 Burden
- 56 Halloween event?
- 59 Spots before your eyes
- 60 Detroit debacle
- 63 Kind of bag or chest
- 64 Deli request
- 65 Vietnamese New Year
- 66 Appetizer often eaten with the hands
- 69 Good party
- 71 "The Merchant of Venice" maid
- 73 Play —
- 74 Fizzle
- 75 Place for jewelry
- 76 Red Bordeaux
- 77 Giuseppe's God
- 78 Halloween topic?
- 82 — law (1840's discovery)
- 86 Foot part
- 88 Possibilities
- 89 Brooding sorts
- 90 Show obedience
- 91 Suffix with spinner
- 92 Classic street liners
- 94 Mme., abroad
- 95 Oddball
- 96 Startup funds?
- 98 Halloween workers?
- 101 Laugh, in Lyon
- 102 Mochie of the L.P.G.A.
- 105 Break an Xmas rule
- 106 Irish seaport
- 108 Tailor's line
- 109 One-seventh of a semana
- 110 Money in the news



- 115 Christmas in Catania
- 117 Halloween note?
- 120 Exaggerate
- 121 Songlike
- 122 Peak in the skyline
- 123 Sterile
- 124 Dreyfus trial locale
- 125 Solar —

DOWN

- 1 Comic's favorite sound
- 2 One of a Latin trio
- 3 Part of R.S.V.P.
- 4 "Rule, Britannia" composer
- 5 So-so
- 6 Faulkner's "Lay Dying"
- 7 Capitol feature
- 8 Porter
- 9 S.J. Perelman's "The Road to —"
- 10 Escapes
- 11 Move obliquely
- 12 Danny and Stubby
- 13 Letters found in underwear
- 14 Rodeo equipment
- 15 Football mascot
- 16 Halloween sprees?
- 17 Double-curved molding
- 18 Club —
- 20 Distinctive individuals
- 24 Be rude at the dinner table
- 31 It's perfect
- 32 Catty remarks
- 33 Salt
- 35 City on the Brazos
- 36 Wall Streeter
- 37 Banned: Var.
- 38 Expert dealmaker
- 39 Pat Nixon's maiden name
- 41 Not going anywhere
- 42 Gives the slip
- 43 Sleep time
- 46 Special Forces trademark
- 47 Jimmy Stewart syllables
- 50 Mrs. Marcos of the Philippines
- 51 Fa follower
- 52 Bodybuilders' targets
- 54 Way to go, in Paris
- 57 Prop for a ball scene
- 58 Doubleday and Yokum
- 61 — City, oater locale
- 62 7 Eleven cooler
- 66 Swirled
- 67 Explore
- 68 Halloween correspondent?
- 69 Kicks
- 70 Highballs it
- 72 Like a symbol
- 76 Gamepieces
- 79 Cheerleader's characteristic
- 80 King Cole's fiddlers, e.g.
- 81 Shade of blue
- 83 Mainz Mr.
- 84 Persian's foe
- 85 Deliberate
- 87 She had a "Tootsie" role
- 90 "One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest" author
- 93 A turn-on
- 94 Be sparing with
- 95 Fate of Wednesday's child
- 97 Wagnerian heroine
- 98 Remain at home
- 99 Sword-and-sandal flick
- 100 League members
- 103 Reason for a spring ceremony
- 104 Our planet, to the French
- 106 For whom nothing's good enough
- 107 Basalt source
- 109 Goes out, in a way
- 111 Applies
- 112 Spellbound
- 113 Emulate Groucho: Marx
- 114 Appear
- 116 Ages
- 118 "The Waste Land" inits.
- 119 Dolls of the 80's

ANSWER TO PREVIOUS PUZZLE

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CRABTREE ARTSY EDDA
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ATO OPENINGACT REGIA
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ANNIE DUNA PINE YAN
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DRJ BLUE BULGE MECCA
ODDEST HLER TTHOT
FAKIR SHOTBREAK ETS
GERALD ARESO PADET
NOSENATION ARMAN
COUGH ATRAB GSA
REET EDITIO ARTPLASS
RASHOFONELINES RINTO
ASPIRIN NINEVER AFTER
CENTERS SEERED PIARE



Wayne Wang and Natalie Portman on the set of "Anywhere but Here."

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There's still a furor over Freud

Anyone who believes that a new exhibit at the Library of Congress will help explain why Sigmund Freud drives people crazy must be dreaming, Linton Weeks reports from Washington



There are artifacts relating to sexuality - aggressive and repressed. And lots of allusions to other Freudian notions, such as the three components of the mind (ego, id, superego) and the three stages of childhood (oral, anal, phallic).

After spending some time with Freud's paraphernalia, the visitor is left wondering, what's the beef? The obvious purpose of the show is to illustrate Freud's work and his immense - and inarguable - influence on the 20th century.

Hmmmm. You want to belittle his legacy? Why is that? Verrry interesting. "The show is not about the controversies surrounding Freud," says curator Michael Roth, a historian and associate director of the Getty Research Institute in Los Angeles.

Sometimes an exhibit is just an exhibit. But not to literary critic Frederick C. Crews.

In his new book, *Unauthorized*

Freud, Crews, who taught English at the University of California, Berkeley, from 1958 to 1994, explains why he was vehemently

Lifting the lid on your id has fallen out of fashion with psychiatrists

opposed to the original plan for the exhibit.

The seed of discord, he writes, was sown in the summer of 1995. Analyst Blum, who also oversees the Sigmund Freud Archives in New York City, announced to a gathering of psychoanalysts that the exhibit would be staged "under the virtual sponsorship of the

United States government" and would celebrate Freud's revolutionary genius and everlasting legacy.

Such a Freudfest, Crews writes, "would be a handsome ideological return to the show's main financial backers," including Blum's archives, Scholz-Strasser's museum in Vienna and others.

So when independent researcher Peter Swales - famous for contending that Freud had an affair with his sister-in-law - circulated a petition imploring curator Roth and the library to incorporate more criticism of Freud in the exhibit, Crews and others reached for their signing pens.

The show was postponed for financial reasons, says the library. The delay gave Roth more time to consider the critics' complaints.

There is ample criticism in the final version of the show. Posted throughout the exhibit are quotes, for instance, from J.M. Cattell in 1926: "Psychoanalysis is not so much a question of science as a matter of taste, Dr. Freud being an artist who lives in the fairytale of dreams among the ogres of perverted sex."

And Ludwig Wittgenstein in

1942: "But this procedure of free association and so on is queer, because Freud never shows how we know where to stop - where is the right solution."

And Crews in 1988: "Psychoanalysis will fade away just as mesmerism and phrenology did, and for the same reason: Its exploded pretensions will deprive it of recruits."

Retired English professor Crews says he's going to see the exhibit sometime after it opens.

He's pleased that Roth agreed to include two anti-Freudians - Frank Cioffi and Arnold Grunbaum - in the catalog.

Grunbaum, as it turns out, is Roth's former father-in-law. Roth says he didn't ask Grunbaum to contribute in the first place because "I didn't believe he would want to appear beside me."

Hmmmm. Swales and the other petitioners had a "beneficial effect," Crews says now. "The organizers are more careful about making scientific claims."

So, Crews is asked, does that make you feel good about the show?

"I wouldn't go that far," he says, but adds: "The claims have been scaled down."

AT one end of the spectrum is Crews and "I am at the other end," says Freud aficionado Harold Blum. "Throughout this past century, Freud's been denigrated and disparaged. But he's withstood the test of time."

In fact, Blum says, Freud is "generally recognized as a figure of immense cultural importance. He changed the way we understand drama, history, biography, and he gave us a whole new picture of how a person becomes a person. He unified dreams, fantasies, fairy tales and myths - and from many different cultures around the world."

The genius of Freud, Blum says, was that "what he found in Vienna was not that different from what he found from other places and other times. The Oedipus complex, for instance."

Denunciation of Freud, as you'll see in the exhibit, is as old as the man himself. From the get-go, Blum says, Freud has been accused of being everything from "a palm reader to a phrenologist to a charlatan to a quack."

What is being acted out at this exhibit, explains Edward Shorter, a professor of the history of medicine at the University of Toronto and author of *A History of Psychiatry: From the Era of the Asylum to the Age of Prozac*, is "the same split that has divided psychiatry for 200 years - the biological split and the psychotherapeutic split."

In this age of pharmacological solutions, the practice of psychoanalysis has fallen on hard times. Freud's "talking cure," which can take years and cost an arm and an ego, is hardly ever used by doctors anymore. Dreams have given way to drugs and group therapy and recovery movements.

In fact, Shorter says, "the number of psychoanalysts who are getting out of psychiatry is enormous. These people are rushing massively into psychopharmacology."

In the US, Shorter points out, only two percent of all psychiatric patients undergo analysis these days. The exhibit, he says, "is a last-ditch stand for the analysts and for the historians of analysis."

Contemporary research has shown, Shorter says, that psychiatric illness arises in the brain and is treatable through psychobiological methods.

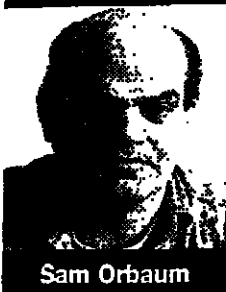
Asked about Crews and Swales, Shorter praised their scholarship.

However, they belong to a group of people, he says, "who are anti-Freud, but not necessarily pro-pharmacology."

Hmmmm. (The Washington Post)

Fowl is fare at this supermarket

Not Page One



Sam Orbaum

Haredim don't go in for trance parties, discos or pub crawls. But like everyone else, they enjoy a good time, a chance to - well, not exactly let their hair down, or get dolled up; they go to the supermarket.

Jerusalemites who get their kicks at the cinema or cafe don't know what they're missing. When evening falls in the haredi neighborhoods, household mommas, their scholarly husbands and prodigious broods stroll down to their local haredi super for a night out. Now that's entertainment.

When a new hot spot opened up just off Rehov Bar-Ilan, I thought I'd check it out.

Shefa Mehadrin is not your average supermarket.

Nighttime, during the latter half of the week, the place is mobbed.

Entire families promenade down the overly wide aisles pushing oversized, overstuffed shopping carts. It's not solely

similar to the stuff I buy. Hmm. Maybe I've been eating like a haredi all along.

I could not find a rabbi's approval stamped on any of the wide variety of nylon stockings.

Videotapes are, predictably, unavailable here. There was a good choice of CDs, though not much of a women's

section. The book rack had such best-sellers as *Birkat Hamazon* and *Oneg Shabbat*, and, nearby, games that auspiciously did not include Scrabble, but did offer "Bingo Brochos" and the Rashi game.

Not your average supermarket.

The howling babies and tantrum-throwing toddlers - and their utterly unflappable parents - is the Muzak of Shefa. It's background noise you just tune out.

The immense carts seem to be specially made for this sort of store, but a cursory glance indicated a serious flaw: There's only one child's seat.

Thighs with a Belz hechsher. Legs for adherents of Ovadia Yosef

for the chore of buying food, but, in a haredi way, to see and be seen.

It's not your average supermarket clientele, either. When they buy a dozen eggs, that could mean only one per family member.

Luxury items just don't sell. There's no dog food. The express cash really is express, because who queues up with 10 items or less? (I suggest they change that to "100 items or less.")

In some ways, though, they are still Mr. and Mrs. Average Israeli Shopper. The cell phones, for instance. And the security. Haredi mothers who could not possibly be mistaken for terrorists still have to open their purses at the door.

I asked the guard if he expected to find a grenade. He shrugged. "I have to look. It's my job." That's Israel for you.

SHEFA doesn't carry fake shrimp, but on the other hand, there's a wider selection of tzeitel, than at any Supersol or Co-op - including a range of replacement fringes (NIS 6.90 to NIS 27.90).

Between the onions and the candles, and across from the peelers and garlic presses, are the *kippot*, and believe me, there's no such thing here as one *kippa* fits all.

You've got your basic black fabric, black velvet, deluxe velvet (the priciest, at NIS 22.50), crocheted, leather, cotton, and for the cash-strapped, a cheapo model at NIS 7.90, white satin with gold-thread trim.

Meatless meat is not a big seller, but meatless veggies are. That means, of course, guaranteed no bugs. I had to wonder about priorities here: the cauliflower may be free from creepy crawlies, but it was also free from edible cauliflower, unless you love stem.

I pushed my mostly empty cart (we're only a family of five) past a family of nine. The seven kids were quietly sharing a can of Coke and a small bag of Bamba.

Quietly sharing. Wait till I tell my children.

I HAD to make a U-turn at the tallit display ("SALE! NIS 144.90!") because there was no way through the throng.

The Kellogg's Corn Flakes, with the Badatz Manchester hechsher, seemed suspiciously

They couldn't come up with a cart that seats six or eight or 10?

Being an investigative journalist (read: snooper), it was my duty to stealthily inspect a few carts, to see what these folks live on. One man was filling his cart with nothing but junk food; I had to assume he was shopping for a kiddush, or a *brit*. A pair of teenage boys wandered about without a cart; I couldn't imagine what they were here for.

More typical were predictable basics such as diapers, baby food, anything in economy-size bulk packaging, and lots and lots of milk.

That got me thinking. The Tuva plant is just a block away. Every day, they get a huge order from Shefa. Tuva loads the milk into the biggest truck it's got, which travels maybe 70 meters, backs up 30 meters to the nearest parking spot, then unloads all this milk, which is then reloaded into a bin. Silly, no?

Seems obvious what they should do: run a pipeline from Tuva to Shefa (it's downhill) and bag it there. Think of the savings in transportation and handling!

I ASKED a bearded stock clerk where the chicken was. He made a wide, sweeping motion with his arm. His vagueness annoyed me. But then I saw the chicken department.

You have no idea. Thighs with a Belz hechsher. Legs for adherents of Rabbi Ovadia Yosef.

Bellybuttons bearing the Beit Yosef kashrut seal. Number 3 chickens ranging in price from NIS 9.95 per kilo (Rav Auerbach) to NIS 19.90 (Landau). I went back to the clerk and asked about this.

"You're not just buying a chicken," he explained with a benign smile, "you're buying faith in a rabbi." Auerbach is, apparently, not as circumspect about detritus in a chicken corpse as Landau is.

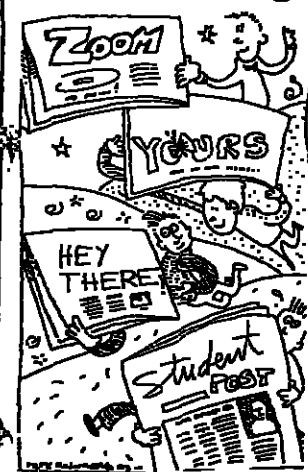
I counted 13 different hechshers. And an absolutely unbelievable 113 different bins of frozen fowl, whole or parts.

It reminded me of a Jerusalem rabbi's criticism about such a thing: Kashrut, he said, is meant to separate Jews from Gentiles, not Jews from Jews.

Not Page One will return in January

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(b) Bidders must pay the sum of NIS 10,000 (ten thousand and fifty New Israeli Shekels) including VAT in cash or by check. This sum is not refundable.

5. A tour, intended solely for those who purchase the tender documents, will be held on November 2, 1998 at 11:00 a.m. at the Attery Bridge.

6. Bids, prepared in accordance with the tender documents, must be placed in the tenders box at the Registration and Documentation Dept. (the Archives) at the Head Office of the Israel Airports Authority, Ben-Gurion Airport, 1st floor, by November 12, 1998, at 12:00 p.m.

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NRP

Continued from Page 1
 During the deliberations, Education Minister Yitzhak Levy and Barak conversed by phone and agreed to meet this week and coordinate efforts to rush the early elections bill through the Knesset.

"We agreed to take a united stand as a faction and will now move on the bill in full coordination with Labor," Levy said.

The bill is now in the Law Committee, headed by the NRP's Hanan Porat, who yesterday announced that deliberations on the bill will begin in his committee "today. I will waste no time on this. The question now is whether there will be a majority for it in the plenum and the key here is in the NRP's hands. If the central committee empowers us, we will vote for it and tip the scales against the continued existence of the government."

The bill specifies a date - February 16 - for the elections. Geshet head David Levy announced that his faction's five MKs will support the bill. This would give it 56 votes. It must have 61 to pass. This can be provided by the NRP, as well as by individual MKs like the Likud's Ze'ev (Benny) Begin or Uzi Landau.

However, MK Dan Meridor (Likud), who supported the bill on preliminary reading, said he won't do it "now against the background of the Wye agreement, which I endorse. Despite my feeling that this deal could have been contracted earlier and that we could have had a better deal," he said he would announce his personal plans "very soon."

STUDENT

Continued from Page 1
 "We will back the police regarding all demonstrations that are illegal, but we will not allow the police to exploit its powers to interfere with the students' legitimate rights to express themselves within the framework of the law," said Goldman, himself a master's student at Haifa University.

The Hadash Party filed a motion of no-confidence in the government over the behavior of the police. MK Tamar Gozansky said that "the decision to try to crush the student's protest was taken at the political level. He who crushes demonstrations with horses seeks to destroy democracy and prevent freedom of discourse."

Witnesses in Jerusalem said mounted police, border policemen, and other security forces used force to prevent students from blocking the road outside Hadassah University Hospital's Mt. Scopus facility. Police also prevented the closure of Route No. 1 near the French Hill interchange.

Ben-Gurion University in Beersheba, where students blocked Derekh Hanisim.

At the rally at Tel Aviv University, Labor Party leader MK

Monday,
October 26, 1998

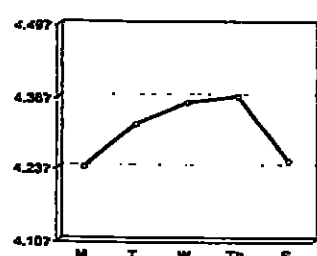
BUSINESS & FINANCE

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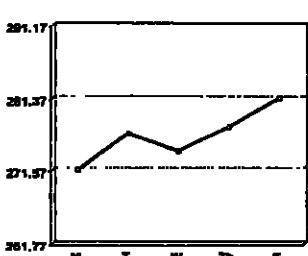
BUSINESS

in brief

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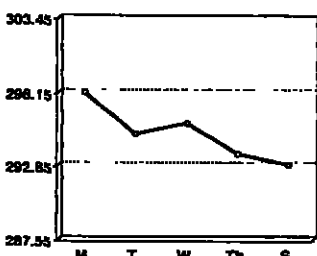


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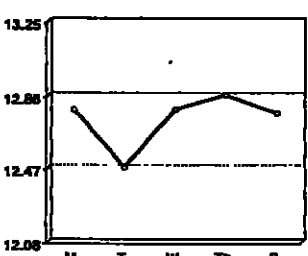
GOLD

\$ per ounce

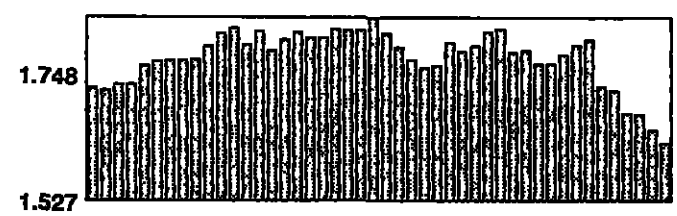


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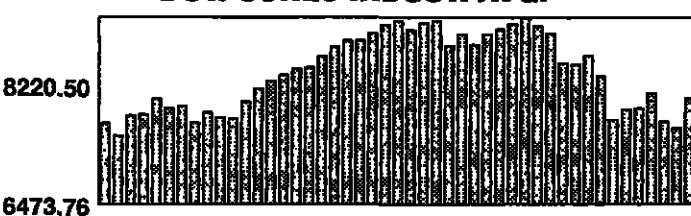
\$ per barrel of Brent crude



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Interest rate announcement due today

Bank of Israel Governor Jacob Frenkel will announce the key lending rate for November at 8:30 this morning, rather than at the usual time of 4:30 p.m. In a brief statement, the central bank said the early announcement will help prevent volatility in currency trading. Economists predicted a rate increase of more than 1 percent, in light of the ongoing depreciation of the shekel. **David Zev Harris**

Duke of Kent to attend Israel Telecom '98

The Duke of Kent will attend the Israel Telecom '98 fair, due to open in Tel Aviv on November 9. Nearly 150 companies from around the world and 100 local start-ups will exhibit their wares, Communications Minister Limor Livnat said yesterday. "The number of expected participants is 'proof that Israel is a strategic and attractive destination for investments by giant companies abroad,'" she said. **Judy Siegel**

Manhattan Bagel comes to Israel

Manhattan Bagel will officially open its first store in Israel in Herzliya Pituach on November 2, according to MBI International Retail Group, the company which has brought Manhattan here. Initially the bagels will be 90 percent baked in the US, blast frozen, with the cooking process completed in-store. MBI hopes to open at least 12 additional stores by the end of 1999, and 30 over the next four years. **David Zev Harris**

Koor to complete takeover of Tadiran for NIS 900m.

Tshuva to buy back remaining 13% of Delek for NIS 140m.

By DAN GERSTENFELD

Koor Industries announced yesterday that it plans to purchase all of Tadiran's outstanding shares for some NIS 900 million.

Israel's largest holding company said it intends to pay NIS 134 per Tadiran share, a price which is 25 percent higher than Tadiran's closing price on the Tel Aviv Stock Exchange on Thursday and 20% above Friday's closing price of its ADR on the New York Stock Exchange (NYSE).

Meanwhile, Delek, the Israeli Fuel Corp., which is controlled by businessman Yitzhak Tshuva, announced its intention to buy

back all the outstanding shares of Israel's second largest fuel company for about NIS 140m.

The shares will be purchased by subsidiary Delek Investments for a minimum price of NIS 114 per share, which is some 31% above its market price.

Analysts said the deals indicate the controlling parties believe the shares to be significantly underpriced. "Prices are low and attractive now," said Doron Tsar, head of research at Sahar Securities. "The fact that we saw more buy-outs and purchasing by interested parties indicates that the current price level is very low."

Other market sources noted that,

when stock markets are sluggish, investors look for liquidity and therefore are less reluctant to sell shares.

Koor, which already controls 66.4% of Tadiran, said it intends to delist the company from public trading once the buyout is completed. The move is in line with the restructuring plans of Koor owners Claridge Israel, whose new strategy focuses on investments in high growth areas, primarily high tech.

The rationale behind the move, which is expected to be completed within three months, is that investors do not tend to invest in holding companies. In the case of

Koor and Tadiran, the fact that one holding company is held by the other made it even less attractive.

The completion of the deal will also allow Koor to make progress on its plan to introduce structural changes in Tadiran without having to receive stockholders' permission.

The wish to avoid the complications arising from dealing with public companies is also seen as a key motive for Delek's public tender.

In a press conference yesterday, Delek chairman Benjamin Gaon said the move will allow the company to complete its reorganization plan without the involvement of the public.

Gaon added that the company will focus on energy, real estate, and car imports.

Delek's move caught investors by surprise since Tshuva, who took control of the company last year, is believed to have been exposed to high losses arising from the recent depreciation of the shekel, after purchasing the company by taking foreign currency-linked credit from Bank Hapoalim.

The buyback raised speculation that Tshuva has already found a strategic partner who is willing to buy part of the company. Tshuva stated yesterday that he is still seeking such a partner.

As bank rescue effort begins

Japan takes over 10th-largest lender

TOKYO (Bloomberg) - The Japanese government on Friday took over Long-Term Credit Bank of Japan Ltd., the first step in a 60 trillion yen (\$505 billion) plan to rescue troubled lenders and shore up the nation's economy.

The government guaranteed all deposits as well as debentures and other obligations of LTCB, Japan's 10th-largest lender. With \$203b. in assets, LTCB is slightly smaller than J.P. Morgan & Co., the fourth-largest US bank.

The takeover marks the beginning of what is likely to be a long journey for LTCB, which helped finance Japan's rise as an economic power only to be hobbled by trillions of yen in bad loans in the 1990s.

Other Japanese lenders face similar problems, and Long-Term Credit Bank will provide the first test of a new plan to strengthen the industry. Helping banks is vital to pulling this nation and the rest of Asia out of recession, economists say.

For Japan, the process will be "slow and painful," said William Andersen, the head of international investing at Driehaus Capital Management in Chicago, which manages \$800 million outside the US. "There's room for a lot of disappointment."

Japan plans to take over insolvent banks and recapitalize others with a line of \$305b. in public money. Industrial Bank of Japan Ltd., Tokai Bank Ltd. and Daiwa Bank Ltd., among others, already have said they may ask to tap the fund, which went into effect today under laws passed last week.

The LTCB takeover was widely expected by investors and bank executives. Many hurdles remain. Among them: Deciding how to dispose of the banks' assets;



Long-Term Credit Bank President Tsuneo Suzuki (center), Vice President Kazuhide Koshiishi (left), and project director Kenji Seo bow before meeting the press in Tokyo Friday, shortly after the government decided to seize control of the 46-year-old bank. (AP)

choosing a new management team; and determining what price the government will pay for LTCB stock. The government hopes to eventually find another bank to buy LTCB.

LTCB stock was suspended on

the Tokyo Stock Exchange today and will be removed from the bourse tomorrow. The stock last traded at 2 yen, down from 373 in February. The stock tumbled this year as it became clear that its mounting bad debts would force

the government to act.

The Deposit Insurance Corp., a semi-government organization set up to protect depositors, will buy LTCB stock, the bank said.

The Bank of Japan also will make funds available to LTCB

through the corporation to ensure lending and other operations proceed smoothly, said Takashi Anzai, a central bank executive director. The Bank of Japan today lent 3 trillion yen to the corporation for LTCB.

'Non-political' negotiations ongoing to buy Egypt gasoline

Bassiouny: Too soon to judge if redeployment will help sale

By DAVID ZEV HARRIS

Despite the official government guidelines from Cairo and Jerusalem, Israel is still negotiating for the purchase of Egyptian gas, an industry source told *The Jerusalem Post* yesterday.

Since the breakdown in bilateral talks between Israel and the Palestinian Authority, following the first redeployment in 1996, both Egypt and Israel have said negotiations for the purchase of natural gas

from the Sinai peninsula were not occurring. However, the source said that the foreign companies presently working in the Sinai region have been in continuous contact with Israel, despite the frosting in governmental relations.

"There've been negotiations all the time on a non-political, business basis," the source said.

The National Infrastructure Ministry and Israel Electric Corporation are presently scouring the rest of the world to find alterna-

tive or additional sources to that from Egyptian. Among the possibilities, Israel is looking into importing liquefied natural gas from Nigeria, Norway or Australia or constructing a pipeline from the former Soviet Union or Qatar.

The industry source, though, said the Israeli negotiators are still talking to companies working in Egypt, including ETGC (Egyptian Trans Gas Company), which comprises Amoco and Agip.

A senior Jerusalem source last

night said that it is true that there have been contacts with ETGC, "but you can't negotiate only with companies but also [must negotiate] with the country."

It is too early to tell whether the Wye Memorandum will allow for the reopening of the Cairo-

Jerusalem gas channel, according to Egyptian Ambassador to Israel Mohammed Bassiouny.

"In principle, Egypt will export natural gas," Bassiouny said yesterday. "Any progress in the peace process will help...but it is too early to speak about the gas now."

US Fed seeking to impact hedge funds

SYDNEY (Reuters) - The US Federal Reserve gave its strongest indication yet yesterday that it would move to regulate hedge funds and said it favors indirect regulation.

Federal Reserve Bank of New York president William McDonough said after an international banking conference in Sydney that regulating hedge funds directly is unlikely to work.

"But regulating them indirectly through a closer control of their counter-parties - the securities firms, banks, insurance companies - that has a much higher likelihood of working and I think we will be doing that," McDonough said in a

television interview broadcast.

McDonough said on Thursday during the conference, sponsored by the Bank of International Settlements (BIS), that it is almost certain some controls on hedge fund activities are needed. But he stopped short of saying the Fed would go ahead.

McDonough told the Nine Network's *Business Sunday* show that the Fed would have to ensure that any controls made sense from a market-freedom point of view.

"If we can reach that conclusion that it would make sense, I believe that getting international cooperation would not be difficult," he said.

McDonough told the BIS conference that work on the issue had begun. The Basle Committee of the BIS would create a working group on highly leveraged institutions that would report back in December, he added.

Hedge funds, highly leveraged investment vehicles for the wealthy, have come under the spotlight in recent weeks after the 11th-hour bailout of the Long Term Capital Management (LTCM) fund, which was heavily exposed to troubled emerging markets.

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Master Rabkin rules supreme

By NORMAN SPIRO

Jeff Rabkin showed in no uncertain terms that the annual Masters title is still his sole property, when at the weekend in Ra'anana he swept aside all opposition to record his ninth successive win in the event.

12th success in 12 appearances. His machine like precision in drawing bowl after bowl within inches of the jack remains unchallenged among local competitors and confirms his position as one of the world top bowlers it was his 12th success in 12 appearances.

In the final he beat Gordon Silberstein 21-8, the latter doing well to win his section for the final play off.

The play off for the bronze was an exciting high quality game with both Colin Silberstein and Haifa's Moshe Rasan playing attacking bowls. At no stage was the score more than two shots difference in either's favor. After 30 heads with the score 20-19 in Silberstein's favor darkness prevented the finish of the game - the two players agreeing to share the honors.

But it was the women's final which provided the drama of the day. Nina Hakak of Ramat Gan, after trailing 10-6 against Kiryat Ono's Ruth Gior, forged ahead with fine drawing to lead 16-10 and thereafter 21-11.

Needing only one point for the title the game swung dramatically in Gior's favor as the gap was narrowed to 20-18, with Gior often saving the game - on one occasion by drawing on to the jack with her last bowl, and then again with a beautiful last wood running shot removing Hakak's winning bowl. Playing in the dark in the 29th end a disappointed Hakak saw Gior drawing in three woods to clinch the title 21-20.

Renee Kusman won the bronze for the second successive year when she beat Naomi Fix 21-10.

No progress between owners, players

NEW YORK (AP) - National Basketball Association club owners and players returned to the bargaining table Saturday, but made no progress toward ending the league's lockout.

The three-hour meeting in New York between NBA commissioner David Stern and union director Billy Hunter was the first negotiations since October 13.

Deputy commissioner Russ Granik, league general counsel Joe Litvin, vice president of basketball operations Steve Mills, union president Patrick Ewing and union attorney Jeffrey Kessler also attended the meeting.

Granik and Hunter plan to talk again today to determine when the next negotiations will take place. The league's Board of Governors will meet tomorrow and Wednesday and the union is trying to get all 400 players to be in New York for the meeting.

The NBA already has canceled the first two weeks of the season, and the rest of the November schedule is expected to be scrapped next week.

About 240 of the players met in Las Vegas this past week and voted unanimously to never accept a hard salary cap, Hunter said.

The owners, demanding cost certainty, want an absolute ceiling on player salaries in the next collective bargaining agreement. They had the right to seek a new labor agreement if the percentage of revenues devoted to salaries exceeded 51.8 percent, and it reached 57 percent in the 1997-98 season.

The lockout is essentially a strike by the owners. Under American labor law, without a contract - or in this case a collective bargaining agreement, owners can prohibit - or lock out - players from working until a deal is reached.

The collective bargaining agreement (CBA) is the ground rules which sets things like minimum salaries, pension and health insurance benefits, roster limits and a salary cap.

The biggest issue in this work stoppage is the owners' insistence on maximum salary costs and the union's refusal to accept a "hard" salary cap.



A STEP CLOSER TO HANNOVER - Andre Agassi on his way to winning the Czech Indoor crown yesterday. (Reuters)

Agassi wins Czech Indoor title; Pierce takes Kremlin Cup

OSTRAVA, Czech Republic (Reuters) - World No. 6 Andre Agassi was forced to three tough sets by unseeded Slovak Jan Krosnak yesterday before emerging with a 6-2 3-6 6-3 victory for the Czech Indoor title.

The 24-year-old Slovak qualifier, ranked 153rd, made Agassi work hard for most games, often frustrating the American with consistent serve-and-volleying in front of a supportive crowd.

But Agassi's trademark intensity, which has led him back into the world top 10 this year as low as 140th, carried him to the decisive service break in the eighth game of the third set as he pocketed the \$137,000 winner's cheque.

"He stepped up his game in the second set... He was winning his serve at will," said a tired Agassi after match. "I had to do anything I

could to win." The Czech success locked up a spot for Agassi in the prestigious eight-man draw for the year-ending ATP World Championship in Hanover later this year.

It was Agassi's fifth title in eight final appearances this year and his first in three ATP finals in October. He lost to Britain's Tim Henman in Basel and Chile's Marcelo Rios at the Grand Slam Cup final in Munich.

Krosnak, whose only tournament successes were at minor stops in China and Israel in 1995 and 1997, said his achievements this week, which included victories over Goran Ivanisevic and Andrei Medvedev, were his best ever.

Agassi, playing his familiar aggressive style, took his first break early to go up 2-1 in what most thought would be a quick match.

But Krosnak saved nine break points in an entertaining 13-deuce, 15-minute fifth game of the first set. The Slovak, from nearby Bratislava, finally lost the marathon game to fall behind 4-1 but convinced the crowd he could compete with the American superstar.

The former native son of Czechoslovakia before the country split in 1993 responded in the second set by breaking Agassi in the second game as he built a 5-1 lead.

In Moscow, Mary Pierce overcame a sluggish Monica Seles in a battle of two hard-hitting baseliners 7-6 6-3 to win the Kremlin Cup and its \$165,000 first prize.

Pierce, making her Moscow debut this year, came back from a 3-0 deficit in the first set with a steady game from the baseline to force a tiebreak.

She then raced to a 6-1 lead in the

tiebreak before claiming the first set. "I'm a slow starter and it took me five games before I felt comfortable," said the fifth-seeded Frenchwoman.

Seles, also playing in Moscow for the first time, came out strong but was unable to sustain the effort. "I came out really good but then became very sluggish," said the second seed, who had beaten Pierce five times in their six previous matches.

The Frenchwoman had three match points at 5-3 but needed only one, taking the title with a thumped forehand drive down the line after one hour and 32 minutes of battle.

"It's always feels great to win a tournament, especially after I've been struggling in the last few weeks," said Pierce, who had not won a tournament since April.

Sampras and rivals battle in pain

STUTTGART (Reuters) - Pete Sampras, fighting to end the year ranked No. 1 for a record sixth consecutive time, has injury worries. But his most dangerous rivals for the top ranking are not in the best of shape either.

After pulling out of the Lyon tournament with back pain before his scheduled quarter-final against German Tommy Haas on Friday, Sampras immediately flew to Stuttgart for the Eurocard Open starting today.

There he obtained permission from tournament director Markus Guenthardt not to play his first match until Wednesday.

Chile's Marcelo Rios and Australian Patrick Rafter, second and third in the rankings and with chances of dethroning Sampras, also have fitness problems.

Rios, forced to quit during his semifinal against Haas in Lyon on Saturday with a pulled thigh

muscle, has told Stuttgart organisers he would decide on Monday whether he could play.

The top eight seeds in the \$2.45 million event have first-round byes and will not play until tomorrow or Wednesday.

Rafter, too, could have done with a rest before the penultimate round of the super-nine series, ending with the Paris Open the following week.

The double US Open champion was clearly hampered by a knee muscle strain when he fell to unseeded South African Wayne Ferreira in their quarter-final on Friday.

"It's been a long season, everybody's tired and that makes the risk of getting injured higher," said German Nicolas Pietrangeli, who will face Sampras if he beats Zimbabwe's Byron Black in his first round match.

Rios will meet either Haas or Frenchman Nicolas Escude while Rafter will play either

Swede Magnus Gustafsson or German wild card Oliver Gross.

So close is the battle for the No. 1 ranking that it could well be decided only at the year-ending ATP Tour world championship in Hanover starting on November 23.

Sampras retained his Wimbledon title this year but did not look as awesome as in previous seasons, partly because he has been hampered by injuries.

The 27-year-old American, who briefly lost the top ranking to Rios earlier this year, last season tied the record set by compatriot Jimmy Connors in the 1970s when he ended the year as the No. 1 for the fifth time in a row.

Local fans would love to see Boris Becker shine on the quick surface of the Stuttgart hall, which perfectly suits his style. Now semi-retired, Becker was granted a wild card for the event.

M. Waugh puts Aussies on verge of series win v. Pakistan

KARACHI (Reuters) - A graceful century by Mark Waugh put Australia on the verge of their first series victory in Pakistan in 39 years on the fourth day of the third and final Test yesterday.

Australia were dismissed for 390 in the last over of the day's play.

The 33-year-old Waugh scored a delightful 117 as Australia, who resumed in the morning at 130 for one, set Pakistan a challenging target of 419 to win.

Pakistan, who trail 1-0 in the series after losing the first Test at Rawalpindi by an innings and 99 runs, have never chased such a high target. The highest they have achieved is 315 against Australia at the same ground four years ago

when they won by one wicket.

Waugh was in prime form after struggling earlier in the series. His innings was punctuated with nine boundaries and a six off 232 balls after 335 minutes of batting.

Waugh, who scored his 15th century in 81 Tests and second against Pakistan, finally departed when he was beaten in the air by debutant Shakeel Ahmad for an easy stumping by Moin Khan.

Shakeel, wicketless in the first innings, finished with impressive figures of four for 91 from 29.3 overs.

Ashraf Khan bowled 56 overs in Australia's second innings to capture the wickets of Australia's openers, conceding 141 runs.

He bowled 97 overs in the match for his five wickets.

Waugh, who also got his best against Pakistan, was involved in three half-century partnerships.

Waugh added 56 runs for the fourth wicket with his twin brother Steve (28), 76 for the fifth wicket with Darren Lehmann (26) and 63 for the seventh wicket with Gavin Robertson.

But it was the seventh-wicket partnership which ended Pakistan's faint hopes of levelling the series as Gavin Robertson frustrated the Pakistani bowlers for two hours before being the last man out.

He had come on shortly after tea when Steve Waugh and Ian Healy went in the space of 19 balls to leave

Australia at 294 for six.

Robertson scored an attractive 45 that included 17 runs in an over of Ashraf Khan. Robertson faced 99 balls and hit five fours and a six.

Australia's innings got a further boost from Mark Taylor's 68 and Justin Langer's 51. Taylor added four more runs to his overnight score before being bowled by Ashraf Khan. He took his series aggregate to 513.

Langer, dropped by Moin Khan when 50, was run out while attempting a risky single with Mark Waugh. Langer, who scored his fourth half century, faced 161 balls and hit three fours and a six. He shared in a 109-run second-wicket partnership with Taylor.

SPORTS

in brief

Hap. TA, Mac. Haifa women look for win

Today's second round of women's National League soccer promises to be eventful as some of the top teams gear up for quality clashes.

In the main game of the evening, undefeated, first place Hapoel Tel Aviv host the only team they have never managed to beat (previous encounters ended 0-0 and 1-1), also undefeated Maccabi Haifa at 19:00 at Kiryat Aliya.

Last week the red devils crushed league newcomers Hapoel Petah Tikva 12-0, while Haifa were content with an 8-1 win over Maccabi Netanya.

Hapoel Ashkelon, fresh from an 11-1 home win over Betar Jerusalem last week, travel to ASA Tel Aviv for the other thriller of the round. Kick off is at 20:00 at Tel Aviv University.

In other matches singer Eyal Golan's Hapoel Marmorek host Betar Jerusalem (18:30), Maccabi Netanya play Maccabi Tel Aviv (18:00 in Netanya) and Hapoel Petah Tikva will try to better their luck away to Hapoel Jerusalem (18:00).

In a late first round makeup game last week, Hapoel Marmorek beat Hapoel Jerusalem 3-1.

Amnanjah de Vries

Six SA soccer players hurt by lightning

JOHANNESBURG (Reuters) - Six soccer players were injured when lightning struck the pitch during a premier league match in South Africa yesterday.

Four players from the Moroka Swallows team and two from Jomo Cosmos were carried off with the help of some of the 2,000 spectators.

They were treated for shock and irregular heartbeats, a commentator at the game said. The match was suspended with Cosmos leading 2-0.

Cronje, Rhodes lift SA to win over England

DHAKA (Reuters) - Skipper Hansie Cronje blasted a quick-fire 67 off 56 balls to take South Africa to a six-wicket win over England yesterday in their quarter-final match in the nine-nation Wills International Cup one-day tournament.

South Africa raced to 283 for four with 20 balls to spare in reply to England's 281. Cronje hit five fours and two sixes, one of which brought up his half-century.

Cronje and Jonty Rhodes put on 117 in 101 balls for the fourth wicket to set up South Africa's win. Rhodes remained unbeaten on 61, scored off 63 balls, with five boundaries.

Daryll Cullinan, man-of-the-match and top scorer for South Africa with 69 off 70 balls.

Earlier, a record sixth wicket stand for England of 112 between Neil Fairbrother and Adam Hoggins powered them to 281 for seven in their 50 overs.

Their 112-run stand for the sixth wicket came off 145 balls and topped an England record of 98 scored by David Gower and Ian Gould against Sri Lanka at Taunton in the 1983 World Cup.

ICC experiments with no-ball rule

DHAKA (Reuters) - Cricket's governing body, the International Cricket Council (ICC), said yesterday that a new no-ball rule was being used in the nine-nation Wills International Cup being played in Dhaka.

"In this tournament, any runs scored off a no-ball will be in addition to an extra ball and an extra run," an ICC spokesman said.

He said this made it possible for batsmen to score a maximum of seven runs off a no-ball if they hit it over the boundary. The normal rule for a no-ball gives the batting team an extra run and an extra ball, but does not count the extra run if runs are scored off a no-ball.

The ICC is also using a sudden death format, similar to a penalty shoot-out in soccer, to decide rain-hit matches in the Wills Cup, which started on Saturday.

If a 25-overs-a-side match cannot be completed due to rain, five bowlers from each side will bowl two deliveries each on an empty pitch. The team that hits the stumps the most number of times, wins.

Black player named for Springboks

JOHANNESBURG (AP) - Four years after the end of apartheid, a black player has for the first time joined South Africa's national rugby squad - a sport dominated by Afrikaner descendants of Dutch settlers.

Owen Nkumane, who plays for the local Golden Lions team, was named to the world-champion Springbok squad for next month's tour of Britain. Nkumane, 23, was also the first black to play for the Golden Lions.

McEnroe wins seniors title

MELBOURNE (AP) - John McEnroe stayed top of the seniors tennis standings yesterday with a controversial victory over Johan Kriek in the final of the Melbourne tournament.

McEnroe added the Melbourne Park event to his win in Sydney a week earlier when he overpowered South African-born Kriek in straight sets 7-5, 6-3.

The crucial break for McEnroe came from a line call at 5-5 in the first set with Kriek on game point. McEnroe's return was called out but he complained and Kriek offered to replay the point.

McEnroe won the point and was then unstoppable.

Spartak Moscow win Russian league

MOSCOW (Reuters) - Spartak Moscow, the most successful club in Russian soccer history, secured their sixth Russian premier division title in seven years on Sunday with a 3-1 home win over Shinnik Yaroslavl.

They also won the Soviet championship 12 times in its 55-year history from 1936 to 1991, second only to the 13 titles won by Ukraine's Dynamo Kiev.

WYE

Continued from Page 1

He outlined its strong points for Israel, such as calling for the arrest of wanted terrorists, the reduction of the Palestinian Police, confiscation of illegal arms, and the convening of the Palestinian National Council to annul sections of the Palestinian Covenant calling for Israel's destruction.

Netanyahu also indicated that Israel is seeking \$1 billion in US aid to compensate for the redeployment costs, adding that he had just spoken with House Speaker Newt Gingrich, who had promised to consider the matter with a "fair mind."

Sharon, who on more than one occasion had said that any government to withdraw from more than 10 percent of the West Bank would be toppled, was singing a somewhat different tune yesterday.

He echoed Netanyahu's words, claiming that the agreement is "the best deal we could have gotten under the circumstances." But he refused to say whether he would for

it. "I don't think there is any other government, or any other prime minister who could have reached a better deal," said Mordechai in turn.

Netanyahu flew from the airport to Jerusalem by helicopter to avoid the hundreds of protesters lining the roads. However, acknowledging the many from his own camp who feel betrayed by the agreement, he turned to them in an impassioned plea.

He understands, he said, the heartache of his right-wing critics, but he hopes they will "think clearly... with their heads," instead of threatening to topple the government.

"To all my friends, let me ask you - who do you want to be in charge of the final-status talks? Who is going to ensure that the border does not reach us here in Tel Aviv... who is going to protect Jerusalem, who is going to ensure security... Do you want a left-wing government?"

Getting the agreement through the cabinet and avoiding a Knesset vote for early elections are likely to be ordeals for Netanyahu. Three ministers who oppose the agreement - Limor Livnat, Yitzhak Levy,

and Rafael Eitan - were absent from the official airport welcoming ceremony. (The two Yisrael Ba'aliya ministers, Natan Sharansky and Yuli Edelstein, were at a party executive meeting scheduled long beforehand.) Many other ministers have expressed displeasure at the deal and are threatening to vote against it.

On several occasions, Netanyahu reiterated that he does not want, or intend to call for early elections at this stage.

Labor Party members, meanwhile, meeting at their headquarters in Tel Aviv, said they welcome the deal and would support it, but are still hoping for early elections.

Asked why he did not mention Yitzhak Rabin in his speech at the White House, leaving it up to Palestinian Authority Chairman Yasser Arafat and Jordan's King Hussein to credit him for his role in the ongoing peace process, Netanyahu avoided a direct answer, saying instead that, "We are all for peace... Rabin was for peace, Peres was for peace, and so are we, in the same way."

Arafat was in Egypt yesterday to

brief President Hosni Mubarak. He is scheduled to make a round of visits in Arab countries in the coming days to present the case for the agreement. He leaves today for Algeria.

Shaath urged Palestinian militants not to attack Israeli targets. He said PA policy would not be different from those of other Arab countries.

"The Jordanians have not allowed attacks from their territory and neither have the Syrians allowed attacks from the Golan Heights," he said.

At the same time, PA security sources said they have obtained pledges from dozens of Hamas and Islamic Jihad militants that they will not obstruct the IDF withdrawal by carrying out terrorist attacks.

PA Secretary-General Tayeb Abdul Rahim issued a warning to the opposition. "The PA has its commitments and will not allow anybody to violate these commitments through force," he said on the Voice of Palestine. "Anybody who wants to torpedo these agreements through violence is breaking the law."

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Richter saves tie against Flyers; Montreal shut out



PHILADELPHIA (AP) — Mike Richter stopped 35 shots, and the New York Rangers held Eric Lindros without a goal for the first time in five games in a 2-2 tie with the Philadelphia Flyers on Saturday.

Richter preserved the tie during a flurry of shots late in the third period, and turned aside four good chances in overtime — including two hard shots by John LeClair.

New York is unbeaten in four games after starting the season 0-4. But the Rangers squandered a 2-0 lead and managed only 13 shots against former teammate John Vanbiesbrouck.

Maple Leafs 6, Penguins 4
Mats Sundin had a goal and three assists as resurgent Toronto notched a road win to improve to 5-1-1.

The Swedish star, who scored his fourth goal of the season on a power play at 1:40 of the first period, has 17 goals and 18 assists in 21 career games against the Penguins. The Maple Leafs are 2-0-1 in their last three games, including a 5-3 victory Friday night at Detroit.

Red Wings 3, Canadiens 0
Steve Yzerman's first goal of the season broke a scoreless tie in the third period as Detroit won on the road.

Yzerman connected on a power play with 6:41 left. Larry Murphy and Martin Lapointe also scored for the Red Wings. Chris Osgood made 18 saves for his second shutout of the season.

Devils 3, Bruins 1
Chris Terreri, making his first

start since returning to New Jersey, made 20 saves in the Devils' home victory.

Hurricanes 3, Senators 1
Ray Sheppard and Sami Kapanen scored on visiting Carolina's first two shots and Arurs Irbe made 27 saves for the Hurricanes.

Islanders 5, Sabres 4
Claude Lapointe scored his second goal with 40.2 seconds left as New York won at home.

New York also got goals from Gino Odjick, Jason Dawe and Bryan Smolinski. Tommy Salo, playing in his seventh straight game, stopped 32 shots.

Panthers 2, Capitals 2
Calle Johansson scored at 6:21 of the third period to give Washington a home tie.

Blackhawks 5, Predators 4
Tony Amonte scored two goals and Chad Kilger added the game-winner in a 2-41 span late in the third period as Chicago rallied for a home win.

Amonte, who has six goals, opened the flurry with 4:50 remaining and tied it at 4 with

3:09 to go. Kilger put Chicago ahead with 2:09 left. Kilger also scored in the second period.

Stars 2, Sharks 1
Pat Verbeek and Jamie Langenbrunner scored power-play goals and Dallas neutralized physical San Jose defenseman Bryan Marchment to win at home.

Dallas improved to 5-0 at home and 5-1-1 overall behind a power play that has produced 13 goals. San Jose dropped to 0-4-2.

Hits by Marchment last season knocked three Stars — Joe Nieuwendyk, Mike Modano and Greg Adams — out of action for long stretches.

Blues 4, Flames 3
Al MacInnis scored with 1:4 seconds to go as St. Louis overcame a third-period lapse to win at home.

The defenseman faked a slap shot and beat Ken Wreggett on a change-of-pace effort. He leads the Blues with four goals in six games. Calgary's Theoren Fleury and Valeri Bure scored in a span of 1:26 midway through the period to tie it.

Due to technical problems, the box scores were unavailable.

EASTERN CONFERENCE

Atlantic Division

	W	L	T	Pts	GF	GA
Philadelphia	4	1	2	10	18	10
New Jersey	3	3	0	6	12	13
N.Y. Islanders	3	4	0	6	15	18
N.Y. Rangers	2	4	2	6	15	23
Pittsburgh	2	2	1	5	14	18

Northeast Division

	W	L	T	Pts	GF	GA
Toronto	5	1	1	11	26	19
Montreal	3	3	1	7	17	14
Boston	3	4	1	7	15	14
Ottawa	3	3	0	6	17	16
Buffalo	2	3	1	5	14	15

Southeast Division

	W	L	T	Pts	GF	GA
Washington	3	2	2	8	13	10
Carolina	2	1	3	7	15	12
Florida	2	1	3	7	10	11
Tampa Bay	2	4	1	5	16	21

WESTERN CONFERENCE

Central Division

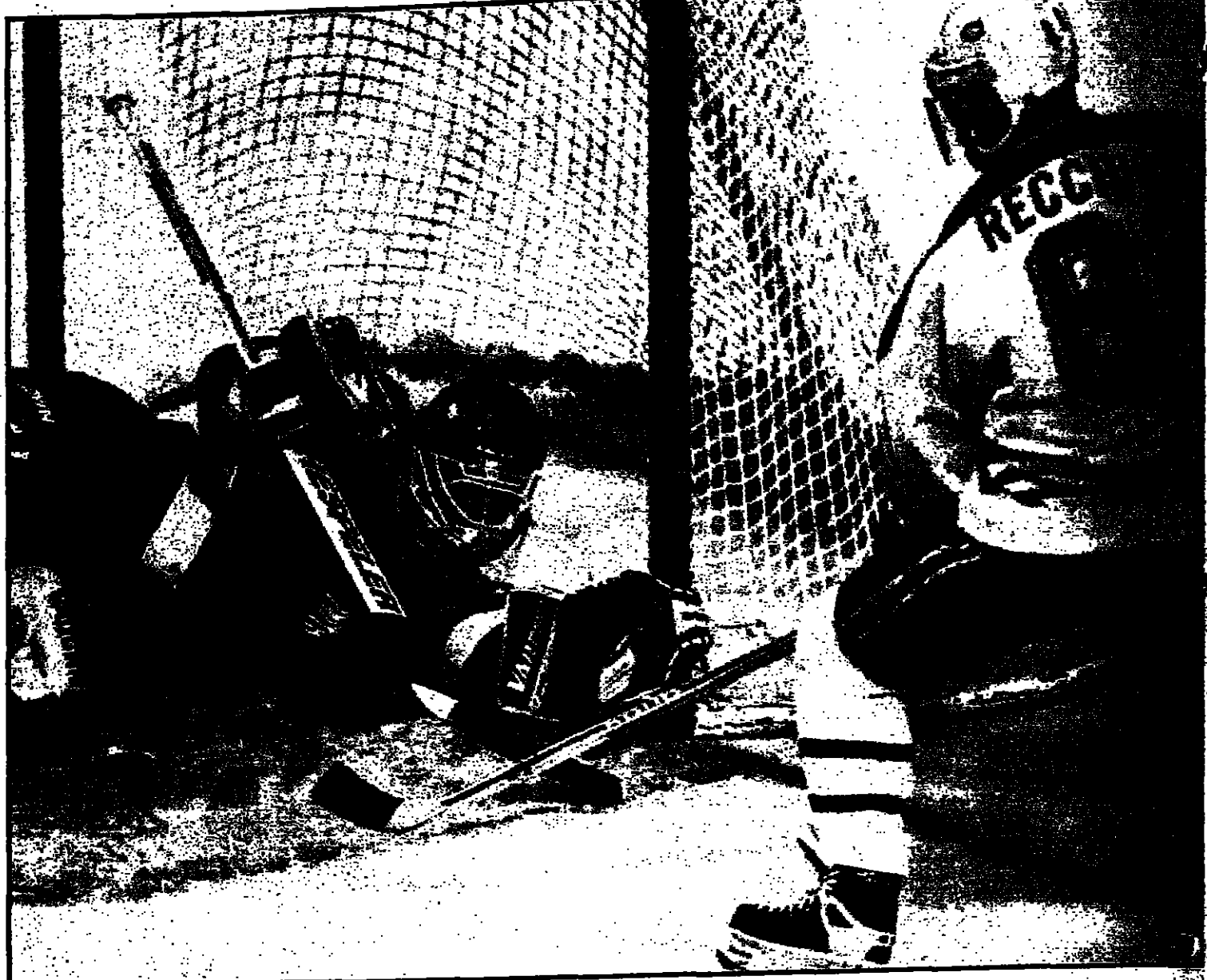
	W	L	T	Pts	GF	GA
Detroit	5	2	0	10	21	12
Chicago	4	2	1	9	19	19
St. Louis	3	2	1	7	17	16
Nashville	1	5	1	3	15	22

Northwest Division

	W	L	T	Pts	GF	GA
Vancouver	4	2	0	8	17	11
Edmonton	3	4	0	6	21	19
Calgary	2	4	1	5	19	25
Colorado	1	4	1	3	16	24

Pacific Division

	W	L	T	Pts	GF	GA
Dallas	5	1	1	11	19	11
Los Angeles	2	2	2	6	14	15
Phoenix	2	2	0	4	10	9
Anaheim	2	3	0	4	9	9
San Jose	0	4	2	2	10	18



OSGOOD AS IT GETS — Red Wings goalie Chris Osgood makes a point-blank save on Canadiens' Mark Recchi in second-period action. Osgood shut out Montreal, 3-0.

'Huskers rally to beat Missouri

NEW YORK (AP) — For the second straight year, the Nebraska-Missouri game came down to the final play. This time, however, the Cornhuskers didn't need a miracle catch to win.

Seventh-ranked Nebraska rallied to beat No. 19 Missouri 20-13 in college football Saturday behind two second-half touchdown runs by backup quarterback Monte Christo.

The 'Huskers (7-1, 3-1 Big 12), who trailed 13-3 in the second quarter, came back to take a 20-13 lead on Christo's 3-yard keeper with 10:27 left in the game.

Also Saturday, Emporia State's Brian Shay became college football's career rushing leader when he gained 213 yards in a 56-24 victory over Central Missouri State. Shay's broke the career mark of 6,320 yards by Johnny Bailey of Texas A&M-I (now Texas A&M-Kingsville) from 1986-1989.

Auburn, playing one day after the resignation of coach Terry Bowden, snapped a four-game losing streak with a 32-17 victory over Louisiana Tech.

No. 1 Ohio St. 36

David Boston broke an Ohio State record with his 27th and 28th career touchdowns catches as the visiting Buckeyes beat Northwestern for the 21st straight time.

Joe Germaine had his third straight 300-yard game, throwing for 342 yards and three TDs. The Buckeyes (7-0, 4-0 Big Ten) held Northwestern (2-6, 0-5) to 48 yards rushing and 11 first downs.

No. 2 UCLA 28, California 16

Cade McNown threw for two touchdowns and Jermaine Lewis ran for one and passed for another on a halfback option as visiting UCLA won its 16th straight game.

No. 3 Tennessee 35

Alabama 18
Peerless Price's 100-yard kickoff return and a sturdy running game gave Tennessee its fourth straight win over visiting Alabama.

No. 4 Kansas St. 52, Iowa St. 21

Michael Bishop threw three TD passes before limping to the sideline and Eric Hickson broke host Kansas State's records for career rushing yards and rushing touchdowns.

How the Top 25 teams in the AP's college football poll fared this week:

1. Ohio St. (7-0) beat Northwestern 36-10.
2. UCLA (6-0) beat California 28-16.
3. Tennessee (6-0) beat Alabama 35-18.
4. Kansas St. (7-0) beat Iowa State 52-21.
5. Florida (6-1) did not play.
6. Florida St. (7-1) beat Georgia Tech 34-7.
7. Nebraska (7-1) beat Missouri 20-13.
8. Texas A&M (7-1) beat Texas Tech 17-10.
9. Wisconsin (8-0) beat Iowa 31-0.
10. Penn State (6-1) did not play.
11. Georgia (6-1) beat Kentucky 28-26.
12. Oregon (6-1) beat So. California 17-13.
13. W. Virginia (4-2) lost to Miami 34-31.
14. Arizona (7-1) beat Northeast Louisiana 45-7.
15. Arkansas (6-0) did not play.
16. Virginia (6-1) beat North Carolina St. 29-13.
17. Colorado (6-2) lost to Kansas 33-17.
18. Notre Dame (6-1) beat Army 20-17.
19. Missouri (5-2) lost to 7 Nebraska 20-13.
20. Georgia Tech (5-2) lost to 6 Florida State 34-7.
21. Syracuse (4-2) did not play.
22. Tulane (6-0) beat Rutgers 52-24.
23. Virginia Tech (6-1) beat Alabama-Birmingham 41-0.
24. Mississippi State (5-2) lost to LSU 41-6.
25. Texas Tech (5-2) lost to 8 Texas A&M 17-10.



GO BLUE — Michigan's Justin Fargas picks up 7 yards inside Indiana's 10-yard line. Fargas scored three plays later as the Wolverines won 21-10.

Hall-bound Taylor haunted by off-field woes



This might turn into one of the most embarrassing moments the Pro Football Hall of Fame has ever encountered. Or is Lawrence Taylor the one who should be ashamed? Either way, on Saturday, Jan. 30, 1999, Taylor should be voted into the Hall of Fame. This, in spite of the fact he might be sitting in a jail cell. He was arrested Monday in St. Petersburg, Florida, on charges of buying crack cocaine from an undercover police officer.

Fortunately for Taylor, his drug problems will not keep him out of Canton: according to the selection process rules, only his on-field performance will be considered. "The only criteria for election is a nominee's achievements and contributions as a player, a coach or a contributor in professional football," the bylaws state.

Thus, there is virtually no way Taylor will be kept out of the Hall of Fame despite his myriad personal problems. An affirmative vote of approximately 80 percent of the 36-member selection committee is required for election. Nevertheless, some voting members see Taylor's legal problems as troublesome.

"It's definitely an issue," said Jerry Magee, NFL columnist for the *San Diego Union-Tribune*. "That's something I would want to think long and hard about before I arrived at a definitive answer."

Another voter, Geoff Hobson of the *Cincinnati Enquirer*, said, "What happens when a father takes his kid to the Hall of Fame and points to LT? What does the father say, 'This guy was the first great pass-rushing linebacker?' O. 'Here's a guy who didn't pay child support and was strung out on drugs?'"

"I don't care what he does off the field," said Will McDonough, *The Boston Globe's* veteran football columnist. "This guy was one of the great defensive players of all time, maybe the greatest. We can't use our opinions to change the rules."

Buffalo News columnist Larry Felser agreed. "If Lawrence Taylor isn't in the Hall of Fame, then what

the hell is the Hall of Fame for? I feel very comfortable making a judgment on someone's football skills. But I've got enough trouble policing my own morals without judging Lawrence Taylor's morals."

Taylor isn't the first would-be Hall of Fame inductee with personal troubles. In 1971, the year former Cleveland Browns running back Jim Brown was up for induction, there were heated arguments. While there was no question about Brown's athletic accomplishments, there was a debate among voters as to whether Brown should be elected because of his alleged involvement in domestic abuse.

Brown has been accused on four occasions of violence against young women, the most notable incident coming in 1968, when he was accused of throwing his girlfriend off a balcony. Brown has consistently denied all charges and never has been found guilty in court.

Former Green Bay Packers running back Paul Hornung repeatedly was denied enshrinement because of his admission that he gambled on football games. Hornung, who was suspended for the 1963 season by former NFL Commissioner Pete Rozelle, eventually was inducted in 1986, 14 years after first becoming eligible.

The Hall of Fame also came under scrutiny in 1995 during the murder trial of former Buffalo Bills running back O.J. Simpson, who was charged with killing his ex-wife, Nicole, and her friend, Ronald Goldman. Simpson was found not guilty in a criminal case but was found guilty of wrongful death in a civil trial. His enshrinement was upheld because the Hall has no mechanism for removing a player once he has been inducted.

By contrast, Baseball and Hockey do have rules for removing and/or banning people from enshrinement.

Former Cincinnati Reds star Pete Rose has been kept out of the Baseball Hall of Fame for allegedly betting on baseball, and former NHL Player Association executive director Alan Eagleson resigned from the Hockey Hall of Fame, just six days before he was to be voted out because of his 1997 conviction for fraud.

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